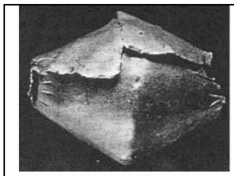
SARASVATI

Bharati

Volume 4



Gold bead; Early Dynastic necklace from the Royal Cemetery; now in the Leeds collection

य इ॒मे रोद॑सी उ॒भे अ॒हम् इन्द्र॑म्
अतु॑ष्टवम् ।
वि॒श्वामि॑त्रस्य रक्षति॒ ब्रह्मे॒दम् भार॑तं॒
जन॑म् ॥

(Vis'va_mitra Ga_thina) RV 3.053.12 I have made Indra glorified by these two, heaven and earth, and this prayer of Vis'va_mitra protects the race of Bharata. [Made Indra glorified: indram atus.t.avam-- the verb is the third preterite of the casual, I have caused to be praised; it may mean: I praise Indra, abiding between heaven and earth, i.e. in the firmament].

va_kdevi Sarasvati

Dr. S. Kalyanaraman

Babasaheb (Umakanta Keshav) Apte Smarak Samiti

Bangalore 2003

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About the Author

Dr. S. Kalyanaraman has a Ph.D. in Public Administration from the University of the Philippines; his graduate degree from Annamalai University was in Statistics and Economics. His PhD dissertation was on development administration, a comparative study of 6 Asian countries, published as *Public Administration in Asia* in 2 volumes.

He was a Senior Executive in the Asian Development Bank, Manila, Philippines for 18 years from 1978 to 1995 responsible for the world-wide IT network of the Bank and disbursements on a portfolio of US$60 million for over 600 projects in 29 developing countries of Asia-Pacific region. Prior to joining the Bank, he was Financial Advisor on the Indian Railways (responsible, as part of a professional team, for introducing computers on the Railways) and Chief Controller of Accounts, Karnataka Electricity Board. He took voluntary retirement from the Bank five years' ahead of schedule and returned to Bharat to devote himself to Sarasvati River researches and development projects.

He is well-versed in many languages of Bharat: Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Hindi, Sanskrit. He has compiled a comparative dictionary for 25 ancient Indian languages, titled *Indian Lexicon*. He has set up a website on Sarasvati River and Civilization with over 30,000 files (http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati); he is the founder of the yahoogroup, IndianCivilization, which has over 800 members (April 2003). His work, *Sarasvati*, was published in 2001 a compendium on the discovery of Vedic River Sarasvati. The present 7-volume enyclopaedic work on *Sarasvati Civilization* is a result of over 20 years of study and research. He is Director, Sarasvati Nadi Shodh Prakalp, Akhil Bharatiya Itihaasa Sankalana Yojana, Chennai 600015. The Prakalp is engaged in researches related to Sarasvati Civilization and interlinking of national rivers of Bharat.

He has contributed to many scholarly journals and participated in and made presentations in a number of national and international conferences including the World Sanskrit Conference held in Bangalore in 1995. He delivered the Keynote address in the International Conference of World Association of Vedic Studies, 3rd Conference held in University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, in July 2002. kalyan97@yahoo.com

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Diacritical marks used

The Kyoto-Harvard convention is NOT used since the intermingling of English words with Indian language words wll distort the representation of capital letters and is not easy to read.

The standard diacritical marks are deployed but, instead of ligaturing them on top and bottom of the alphabet, the diacritical marks FOLLOW immediately after the vowel or consonant which is modified. For e.g., a_ connotes ‘long a’, n. connotes retroflex N. After the UNICODE is standardized, the next edition will display the modified codes for ease of representation on web pages on the internet.

a r*u*t,*a*t	e b*e*t	d *th*en
a_/ l*aw*	e_ *a*te	d. *d*ot
a~_ l*ong*	e~_ b*an*e	l. riva*lr*y
/a~ *un-*	/e~ wh*en*,*whey*	n. a*n*d
i it	o *o*bese	n- *n*ew
i_ b*ee*	o_ n*o*te	r- cu*rl*
i~_ b*een*	o~_ b*one*,*one*	r. *r*ug
/i~ *in*	m. mu*m*	r.. (*zsh*)
u y*ou*	n: ki*ng*	s fu*s*e
u_/ *oo*ze	*n~* *ny*et	s. *sh*ut
u~_ b*oon*	h-/k- w*h*at	s' *s*ugar
/u~ j*un*e	c *ch*ange	t bo*th*
	c. *s*o	t. *t*oo

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List of languages and abbreviations

The languages of the linguistic area and the abbreviations used are as follows:

A.Assamese
Ap.Apabhram.s'a
Ash. Ashkun (As.ku~_--Kafiri)
Aw. Awadhi_
B. Bengali (Ban:gla_)
Bal. Balu_ci_ (Iranian)
Bashg. Bashgali_ (Kafiri)
BCE Before Common Era (BC)
Bel. Belari
Bhoj. Bhojpuri_
Bi. Biha_ri_
Br. Bra_hui_
Brj. Brajbha_s.a_
Bshk. Bashkari_k (Dardic)
Bur.Burushaski
CE Common Era (AD)
Chil. Chili_s (Dardic)
D.. D.uma_ki
Dm. Dame~d.i_ (Kafiri-Dardic)
G. Gujara_ti_
Ga. Gadba
Garh.Gar.hwa_li_
Gau. Gauro (Dardic)
Gaw.Gawar-Bati (Dardic)
Gmb. Gambi_ri_ (Kafiri)
Go. Gondi
Gy. Gypsy or Romani
H. Hindi_
Ir. Irul.a
K. Ka_s'mi_ri_
Ka. Kannad.a
Kaf. Kafiri
Kal. Kalasha (Dardic)
Kand. Kandia (Dardic)
Kat.. Kat.a_rqala_ (Dardic)
Kho. Khowa_r (Dardic)
Khot. Khotanese (Iranian)
Kmd. Ka_mdeshi (Kafiri)
Ko. Kota
Kod.. Kod.agu (Coorg)
Koh. Kohista_ni_ (Dardic)
Kol. Kolami
Kon. Kon:kan.i_
Kond.a
Kor. Koraga
Kt. Kati or Katei (Kafiri)
Ku. Kumauni_
Kui
Kurub.Bet.t.a Kuruba
Kur.Kur.ux (Oraon, Kuru*kh*)
Kuwi
L. Lahnda_
M. Mara_t.hi_
Ma.Malayalam
Mai.Maiya~_ (Dardic)
Malt.Malto
Ma_lw.Ma_lwa_i_
Mand.. Mand.a
Marw.Ma_rwa_r.i_
Md.Maldivian dialect of Sinhalese
MIA Middle Indo-Aryan
Mj. Munji_ (Iranian)
Mth. Maithili_
Mu. Mun.d.a_ri (Munda)
N. Nepa_li
Nahali
Nin:g. Nin:gala_mi (Dardic)
Nk. Naikr.i (dialect of Kolami = LSI, Bhili of Basim; Naiki of Chanda)
OIA Old Indo-Aryan
Or. Or.iya_
P. Punja_bi_ (Paja_bi_)
Pa. Parji
Pali
Pah. Paha_r.i_
Pa_Ku. Pa_lu Kur-umba
Pas'. Pas'ai (Dardic)
Pe. Pengo
Phal. Phalu_r.a (Dardic)
Pkt. Prakrit
S. Sindhi_
Sant. Santa_li_ (Mun.d.a_)
Sh. Shina (S.in.a_.Dardic)
Si. Sinhalese
Sik. Sikalga_ri_ (Mixed Gypsy Language: LSI xi 167)
Skt. Sanskrit
Sv. Savi (Dardic)
Ta.Tamil
Te.Telugu
Tir.Tira_hi_ (Dardic)
To. Toda
Tor.To_rwa_li_ (Dardic)
Tu. Tulu
U. Urdu
Werch.Werchikwa_r or Wershikwa_r (Yasin dialect of Burushaski)
Wg. Waigali_ or Wai-ala_ (Kafiri)
Wkh. Wakhi (Iranian)
Wot..Wot.apu_ri_ (language of Wot.apu_r and Kat.a_rqala_. Dardic)
WPah. West Paha_r.i

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Abbreviations used for linguistic categories and other languages

Languages, Epigraphs

As'. As'okan inscriptions
Austro-as. Austro-asiatic (cf. Munda)
BHSkt. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Newhaven, 1953)
Dard. Dardic
Dhp. Ga_ndha_ri or Northwest Prakrit (as recorded in the Dharmapada ed. J. Brough, Oxford 1962)
Drav. Dravidian
IA. Indo-aryan
IE. Indo-european
Ind. Indo-aryan of India proper excluding Kafiri and Dardic (as classified by R.L. Turner)
KharI. Kharos.t.hi_ inscriptions; Middle Indo-aryan forms occurring in Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. II Pt.I, Calcutta, 1929 MIA Middle Indo-aryan
NiDoc. Language of 'Kharos.t.hi_ Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan' edited by A.M. Boyer, E.J. Rapson, and E. Senart
Ar.Arabic
Aram.Aramaic
Arm.Armenian
Av. Avestan (Iranian)
E. English
Gk. Greek
Goth. Gothic
Ishk. Ishka_shmi_ (Iranian)
Kurd. Kurdish (Iranian)
Lat. Latin
Lith.Lithuanian
OHG. Old High German
Orm. O_rmur.i_ (Iranian)
OSlav. Old Slavonic
Par. Para_ci_ (Iranian)

etym. etymology
expr.expression
f./fem. feminine
fig. figuratively
fr. from
fut. future
gen. genitive
hon. honorific
id. idem (having the same meaning)
imper.imperative
incl. including
inf.infinitive
inj.injunctive
inscr.inscription
lex. lexicographical works or Kos'as
lit. literature
loc. locative
m. masculine
M Middle
metath. metathesis (of)
N North
Na_ Na_ci Na_t.u usage
Naut. Nautical
nom.nominative
nom.prop. nomen proprium (proper name)
num.numeral(s)
NWNorth-west
O Old
obl. oblique case
onom.onomatopoeic
p. page
part. participle
pass. passive
perf. perfect
perh. perhaps
phonet.phonetically
pl. plural
pp. past participle (passive)
pres. present
pron. pronoun
Pudu. Pudukkottai usage

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Pahl. Pahlavi (Iranian)
Pers. Persian (Iranian)
Port. Portuguese
Pr. Prasun (Kafiri)
Psht. Pashto (Iranian)
Tib. Tibetan
Toch. Tocharian
Turk. Turkish
Yid. Yidgha (Iranian)

Abbreviations : Grammatical

* hypothetical
< (is) derived from
> (has) become
? doubtful
Xinfluenced by
+ extended by
~ parallel with
acc.accusative
adj. adjective
adv. adverb
aor. aorist
caus. causative
cent. century
cf. confer (compare)
cmpd.compound(ed)
com. commentary, t.i_ka_
conj.conjunction
dat. dative
dist.fr.distinct from
du. dual
E East
e.g. example
redup. reduplicated
ref. reference(s)
S South
sb./subst.substantive
semant. semantically
st. stem
subj. subjunctive
syn. synonym
Tinn. Tinnevelly usage
Tj. Tanjore usage
usu. usual(ly)
vais.n..vais.n.ava usage
vb. verb
viz. videlicet (namely)
W West

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Foreword

I had written a foreword for Dr. Kalyanaraman's work titled *Sarasvati* in 2000. As promised, he has now followed up this work with an additional seven volumes to complete the encyclopaedia on Sarasvati – the river, godess and civilization of Bha_rata.

It is a privilege indeed to receive the seven volumes titled:

Sarasvati: Civilization
Sarasvati: R.gveda
Sarasvati: River
Sarasvati: Bharati
Sarasvati: Technology
Sarasvati: Language
Sarasvati: Epigraphs

This septet constitutes a fitting homage to Babasaheb (Uma_ka_nt kes'av) Apte, particularly in the wake of the centenary celebrations planned for 2003 in memory of this patriot who wanted a presentation of the history of Bha_rata from a Bha_rati_ya socio-cultural perspective.

The dream of the late Padmashri Vakankar, archaeologist is also partly fulfilled with the delineation of the peoples' lives over 5,000 years on the banks of the Rivers Sarasvati and Sindhu.

The Sarasvati Nadi Shodh Prakalp which is headed by Dr. Kalyanaraman under the guidance of Shri Haribhau Vaze, All-India Organizing Secretary, Akhila Bharateeya Itihaasa Sankalana Yojana should be complimented for bringing to successful completion this important phase of writing of the history of ancient Bha_rata.

The River Sarasvati has not only been established as ground-truth (bhu_mi satyam), but the vibrant civilization which was nurtured on the banks of this river has been exquisitely unraveled in the five volumes, covering virtually all aspects of the lives of the pitr.-s, many of whose a_s'rama-s are venerated even today in many parts of Bha_rata.

The seven volumes provide a framework for understanding the writing system evolved ca. 5,300 years ago to record the possessions and items traded by metal- and fire-workers, the bharata-s. The language spoken by the people is also becoming clearer, with the existence of a linguistic area on the banks of the two rivers – the substrata and ad-strata lexemes which seem to match the glyphs of inscribed objects are a testimony

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to this discovery. This calls for a paradigm shift in the study of languages of Bha_rata with particular reference to the essential semantic unity of all the language families, thanks to intense socio-economic and cultural interactions across the length and breadth of Bha_rata.

Hopefully, this work should generate many more research studies of this kind to further study the impact of the civilization on the cultural unity of the nation.

It is also heartening to note that work has started to revive the Rivr Sarasvati and to interlink the rivers of the country. This will be a garland presented by the children of the country to Bha_rata Ma_ta_ setting up a network of about 40,000 kms. Of National Waterways which will complement the Railways system to further strengthen the infrastructure facilities and to provide a fillip to development projects in all sectors of the economy.

I understand that Kalyanaraman is now embarking on a project to write the history of Dharma. I wish him all success in his endeavours.

M.N. Pingley

Kaliyugabda 5105. a_s.a_d.ha, Gurupurnima. July 13, 2003 CE

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Publisher's Note

On behalf of Baba Saheb (Umakanta Keshav) Apte Smarak Samiti, it gives me great pleasure to publish the set of seven volumes of the encyclopaedic work of Dr. S. Kalyanaraman with over 4,000 illustrations and impressive documentation.

Sarasvati: Civilization
Sarasvati: R.gveda
Sarasvati: River
Sarasvati: Bharati
Sarasvati: Technology
Sarasvati: Language
Sarasvati: Epigraphs

This is a follow-up of the first work titled *Sarasvati* published in 2000 which focused on the River Sarasvati. These seven additional volumes focus on the language, writing system, technology – archaeo-metallurgy, in particular, the lives of the people who lived between 3500 to 5300 years ago and the importance of this legacy and heritage on the history of Bha_rata. This compendium has been made possible by the contributions made by scientists and scholars of the country from a variety of disciplines, ranging from geology and glaciology to atomic research and language studies. This comprehensive work on Sarasvati thus constitutes a golden chapter in the work of the Akhila Bharateeya Itihaasa Sankalana Yojana, providing the foundation for future works on subsequent periods of the history of the nation.

A principal objective of the Baba Saheb (Umakanta Keshav) Apte Smarak Samiti is the authenticated study of the history of our nation. For this purpose the Akhila Bharatiya Itihaasa Sankalana Yojana affiliated with the Samiti, has been working with a number of scholars and institutions organizing seminars and conferences and bringing out publications. The Samiti is a non-profit, voluntary organization and is entirely supported by volunteers and philanthropists. I wish to thank all the well-wishers and contributors to the Samiti's work. In particular, I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the contribution made by Shri G. Pulla Reddy, Shri Ramadas Kamath, and Basudeo Ramsisaria Charitable Trust, ICICI, Government of Goa, in enabling this publication. Sincere thanks are due to K. Joshi and Co., and Dr. C.N. Parchure who have undertaken the supervision of the publication.

Plans have been initiated to start a national center to study the history of vanava_si people, to produce an encyclopaedia on the Hindu World and to organize research centers in all states of the country, to publish a series of research volumes on various aspects of the Bharatiya itiha_sa in all languages of Bharat, using multimedia presentations.

Haribhau Vaze

National Organizing Secretary, Akhil Bharatiya Itihaasa Sankalana Yojana and Trustee, Baba Saheb (Umakanta Keshav) Apte Smarak Samiti, Bangalore. Kaliyugabda 5105. a_s.a_d.ha, Gurupurnima. July 13, 2003 CE

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Author’s Preface

At the outset, I offer my sincere thanks to Moropant Pingley and Haribhau Vaze for their encouragement and support in pursuing this endeavour.

What can I say which has not already been said by eminent scientists, scholars and thinkers of this great nation? All that I can do is to compile their thoughts and present them as I see fit and as a tribute to the memories of our pitr.-s and ma_tr.-s, our ancestors who have made us what we are and who have given us the *vira_sat* (heritage).

The septet contains the following volumes:

Sarasvati: Civilization
Sarasvati: R.gveda
Sarasvati: River
Sarasvati: Bharati
Sarasvati: Technology
Sarasvati: Language
Sarasvati: Epigraphs

The enduring nature of the culture of the nation has been a source of awe and inspiration for many generations of scholars.

The lives of the r.s.i-s and muni-s who contributed to the solidity of the Bha_rata Ra_s.t.ra is a source of inspiration for generations of students of philosophy, politics, sociology, spiritual studies, economics and culture.

The earlier work, *Sarasvati*, published in 2000 focused on the life-history of River Sarasvati. This set of seven volumes follow-up on this work to present a comprehensive survey of the lives of the people who nurtured a vibrant civilization on the banks of River Sarasvati. They were enterprising people who ventured to the banks of River Sindhu and beyond and had established a network of interactions which extended as far as Mesopotamia in the west and Caspian Sea in the north-west.

The River Sarasvati, flowing over 1,600 kms. from Mt. Kailas (Ma_nasarovar glacier) and tributaries emanating from Har-ki-dun (Svarga_rohin.i or Bandarpunch massifs, Western Garhwal, Uttaranchal), through Kashmir, Uttaranchal, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, and Gujarat made the region lush with vegetation and provided a highway for interactions extending through the Gulf of Kutch, Gulf of Khambat, the Persian and Arabian Gulfs. The story of this riverine, maritime civilization is the story of an enterprising group of people who were wonderstruck by the bounties of nature and had organized themselves into a cooperating society to

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harness the bounties of nature. The Samudra manthanam imagery wherein the asura-s and deva-s cooperate in churning the ocean for its riches is an allegory of this quest for material well-being while strengthening societal bonds.

This march of history is a saga of adventure, a passion for discovery of new materials and new methods of communication using a writing system and communicating orally profound thoughts on the cosmic order in relation to humanity.

The next stop is Dharma: a history of Bharatiya Ethos and Thought.

Dr. S. Kalyanaraman
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Sarasvati Nadi Shodh Prakalp, 5 Temple Avenue, Chennai 600015, India
Kalyan97@yahoo.com

Kaliyugabda 5105. a_s.a_d.ha, Gurupurnima. July 13, 2003 CE.

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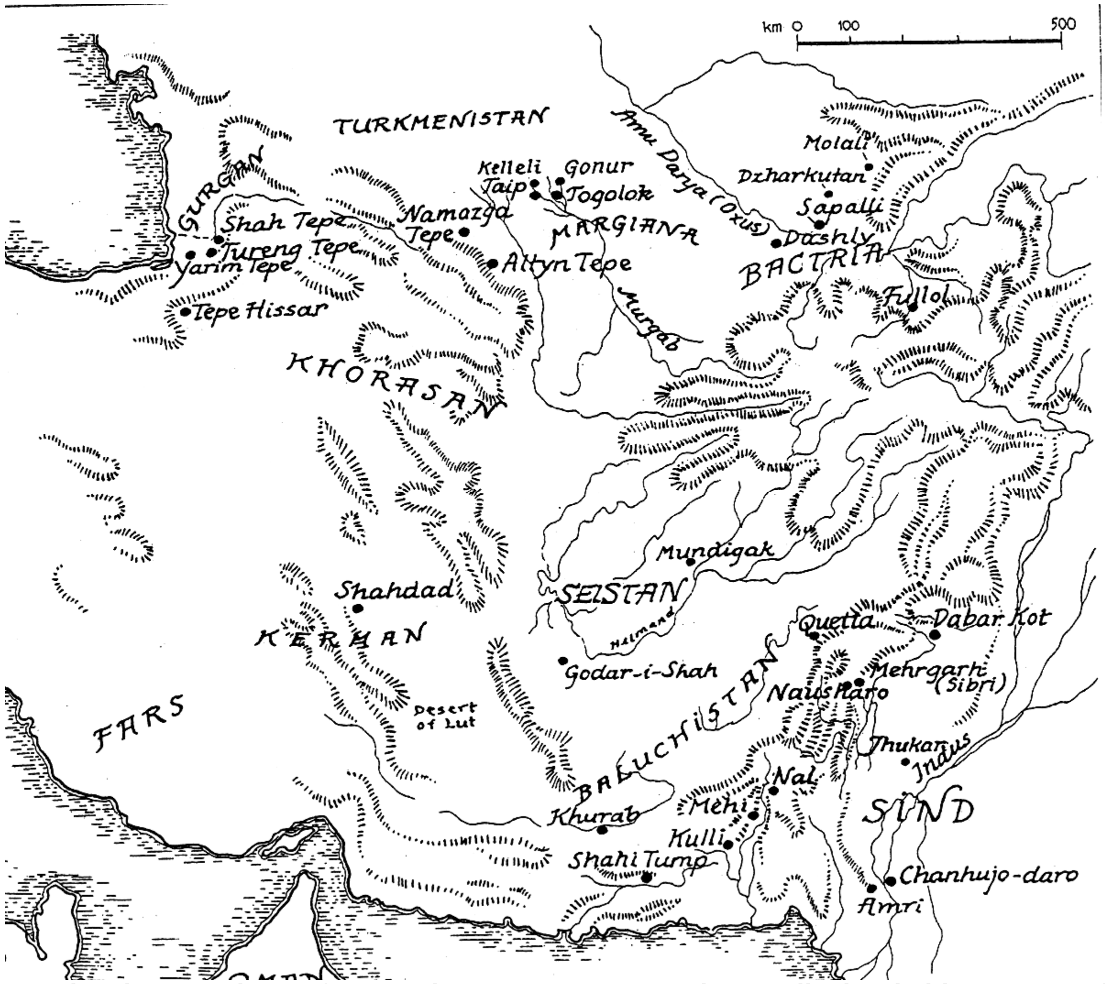
Westward migrations out of Bharat

The evidence of the man.d.ala-s in BMAC archaeological sites and the man.d.ala created in a stu_pa with 24 spokes found at Sanghol, Punjab (Kushana period) point to the migrations of people away from the Sarasvati River basin during 2nd millennium BCE and during the historical periods. There is no archaeological evidence to assume that the man.d.ala of Gonur Tepe and other sites points to migrations of people from BMAC area into Bharat. The comparative analyses of Vedic and Avestan tradition clearly establishes the chronology: Vedic texts > Bra_hman.a-s > Avestan.



Map showing locations of Tepe Hissar, Gonur, Togolok, Mundigak, Shahi Tump, Kulli, Mehi, Nal, Amri, Nausharo, Jhukar, Chanhujodaro (After Fig. 6 in Asko Parpola, 1988, opcit.)

That the movement of man.d.ala concepts was from east to west (i.e. from out of Bharat) is exemplified by the cultural sequences discovered in the settlement of Nausharo. CC Lamberg-Karlovsky pointed out that a distinction should be made between two types of archaeological evidence suggestive of cultural contact or colonization (or expansion). If only a few types and numbers of artifacts characteristic of a cultue were found in another distinctive culture, the contact was very limited. However, if an entire

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cultural complex is recovered from the area of another culture, foreign colonization can be suggested, leading to major cultural transformations in the colonized area. (Lamberg-Karlovsky, C, 1986, Third millennium structure and process: From the Euphrates to the Indus and the Oxus to the Indian Ocean, *Oriens Antiquus* 25: 3-4, 189-219: 194f.) This is the case with the Bactria Margiana Cultural Complex in relation to Sarasvati Civilization. In the Su_tra period and the period of Tantric traditions, pre-dating Buddha, there could have been colonization of sites such as Dashly (BMAC) and Nausharo. Nausharo is a site with distinctly stratified settlements. A Late Harappan occupation at the top of the Nausharo mound was found in sequence. The uppermost level at Nausharo was found o be Jhukar culture which had been known earlier at Chanhujodaro and Amri in Sind. In this site, traditions of Sarasvati Civilization continues without a break. The new elements were recognized as those associated with cemeteries of Sibri and Mehrgarh VIII. (Asko Parpola, 1988, opcit, pp. 202-203). That there was a distinctive cultural transformation caused by the cultural traits migrating out of Sarasvati Civilization can be seen from the glyptic parallels such as the depiction of snakes, eagles and conflict motifs which can be explained rebus as lexemes of Mleccha (Meluhhan). A good example is provided by the terracotta image of a figurine with red pigment painted on the parting of the hair, a cultural trait which is preserved, by married women, even today in Bharat.

Transfer of rice-growing cultures from east to west, from Ganga valley to Baluchistan

“The Ganges valley, where numerous points of bone and ivory that are similar to the Pirak ones were carved, is also one of the earliest rice-growing cultures.” (Jarrige, Jean-Francois and Marielle Santoni, 1979, *Fouilles de Pirak*, I-II. Paris: I, 410). Around 2000 BCE, contacts between the mid-Ganga valley and borders of Baluchistan wers strengthened: “It is indeed at this period that we find evidence of the foundation in the northwest of the Ganges valley, near present-day Delhi, of a great many villages that were strongly influenced by Harappan culture.” (Jarrige, Jean-Francois, 1985, The Indian world. In: *The World Atlas of Archaeology*: 238-247, London: 244).

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Veneration of ancestors

The recent findings of Kenoyer and Meadow from Harappa push the civilization back to an early date of 3300 B.C.; this date is consistent with the date of recently discovered archaeological site in Kunal (near Kurukshetra). This is the clearest indication that the interaction networks of the early phases of the culture, were gravitating from the hundreds of sites on the Sarasvati river basin, using Harappa and Mohenjodaro as trading outposts and using the copper ore from the Khetri mines in Rajasthan, accessible through Kantali river which was a tributary of the Sarasvati river.

The veneration for the departed a_tman, of *pitr.,* is an integral feature of the cultural traditions of Bha_rata. The R.gveda is replete with the adoration of **pitr.**

Veneration of departed a_tman of ancestors is an ancient cultural practice, details of which have been reconstructed by archaeologists from sites all over Bharat and in particular from the sites which evolved on the banks of Rivers Sarasvati and Sindhu.

The veneration of the departed a_tman is matched by the veneration of fire or fire-worship expounded in many r.ca-s of the R.gveda, invoking Agni. The finds of 'fire-altars' at Lothal and Kalibangan may be related to the two phenomena: 1. fire-worship; and 2. use of fire and bones in metallurgical processes in the early phases of evolution of science and technology in Sarasvati Sindhu Valley Civilization.

> "The earlier burials in this cemetery (Cemetery H) were laid out much like Harappan coffin burials, but in the later burials, adults were cremated and the bones placed in large urns (164). The change in burial customs represents a major shift in religion and can also be correlated to important changes in economic and political organization. Cemetery H pottery and related ceramics have been found throughout northern Pakistan, even as far north as Swat, where they mix with distinctive local traditions. In the east, numerous sites in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab provide evidence for the gradual expansion of settlements into this heavily forested region. One impetus for this expansion may have been the increasing use of rice and other summer (kharif) crops that could be grown using monsoon stimulated rains. Until late in the Harappan Period (after 2200 BC) the agricultural foundation of the Harappan cities was largely winter (rabi) crops that included wheat and barley. Although the Cemetery H culture encompassed a relatively large area, the trade connections with the western highlands began to break down as did the trade with the coast. Lapis lazuli and turquoise beads are rarely found in the settlements, and marine shell for ornaments and ritual objects gradually disappeared. On the other hand the technology of faience manufacture becomes more refined, possibly in order to compensate for the lack of raw materials such as shell, faience and possibly even carnelian." [Kenoyer, www.harappa.com, Slide 162]

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Left: To hold a hunched body: a 3-ft. long brick grave built in the wall of a room at Mohenjo-daro. Right: Covering two strata of earlier remains; the 2nd century CE Buddhist stu_pa at Mohenjo-daro, on an island in the dry river-bed of River Sindhu. [After Pl.I in: Gregory L. Possehl, ed., 1979, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.] The building up of a stu_pa on the remains of a body is an extension of the practice of building a grave within the walls of a residence in earlier strata.

In addition to the peacock, dotted circles, fish, zebu (bra_hman.i bull) and elk (antelope or large stag) are also depicted on funerary pottery of the Harappan civilization. Glyphs depicting *taberna montana* flower-buds are ligatured on the wide horns of the antelope.

Figure of a person combining a bull's body, antelope horns and a human head and torso, with hands resting on the hips and arms covered with bangles. Cemetery H pottery motifs from Harappa, after Vats 1940, Pl. LXII. 'Although the style of these motifs is unique, the use of the trefoil and papal leaf headdresses along with horned figures strongly argues for the incorporation of some Indus beliefs with the new rituals." (Kenoyer, 1998, p. 175).

Small painted globular jar associated with cremation urns, ca. 1700 BCE, Cemetery H and painted dih or lid from the early levels of cemetery H, Harapa, ca. 1900 BCE.

"Late Harappan Period dish or lid with perforation at edge for hanging or attaching to large jar. It shows a blackbuck antelope with trefoil design made of combined circle-and-dot motifs, possibly representing stars. It is associated with burial pottery of the Cemetery H period, dating after 1900 BC. The Late Harappan Period at Harappa is represented by the Cemetery H culture (190-1300 BC) which is named after the discovery of a large cemetery filled with painted burial urns and some extended inhumations. The earlier burials in this cemetery were laid out much like Harappan coffin burials, but in the later burials, adults were cremated and the bones placed in large urns (164). The change in burial customs

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represents a major shift in religion and can also be correlated to important changes in economic and political organization. Cemetery H pottery and related ceramics have been found throughout northern Pakistan, even as far north as Swat, where they mix with distinctive local traditions. In the east, numerous sites in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab provide evidence for the gradual expansion of settlements into this heavily forested region. One impetus for this expansion may have been the increasing use of rice and other summer (kharif) crops that could be grown using monsoon stimulated rains. Until late in the Harappan Period (after 2200 BC) the agricultural foundation of the Harappan cities was largely winter (rabi) crops that included wheat and barley. Although the Cemetery H culture encompassed a relatively large area, the trade connections with the western highlands began to break down as did the trade with the coast. Lapis lazuli and turquoise beads are rarely found in the settlements, and marine shell for ornaments and ritual objects gradually disappeared. On the other hand the technology of faience manufacture becomes more refined, possibly in order to compensate for the lack of raw materials such as shell, faience and possibly even carnelian." (Text and image from Kenoyer and Meadow, 1999).

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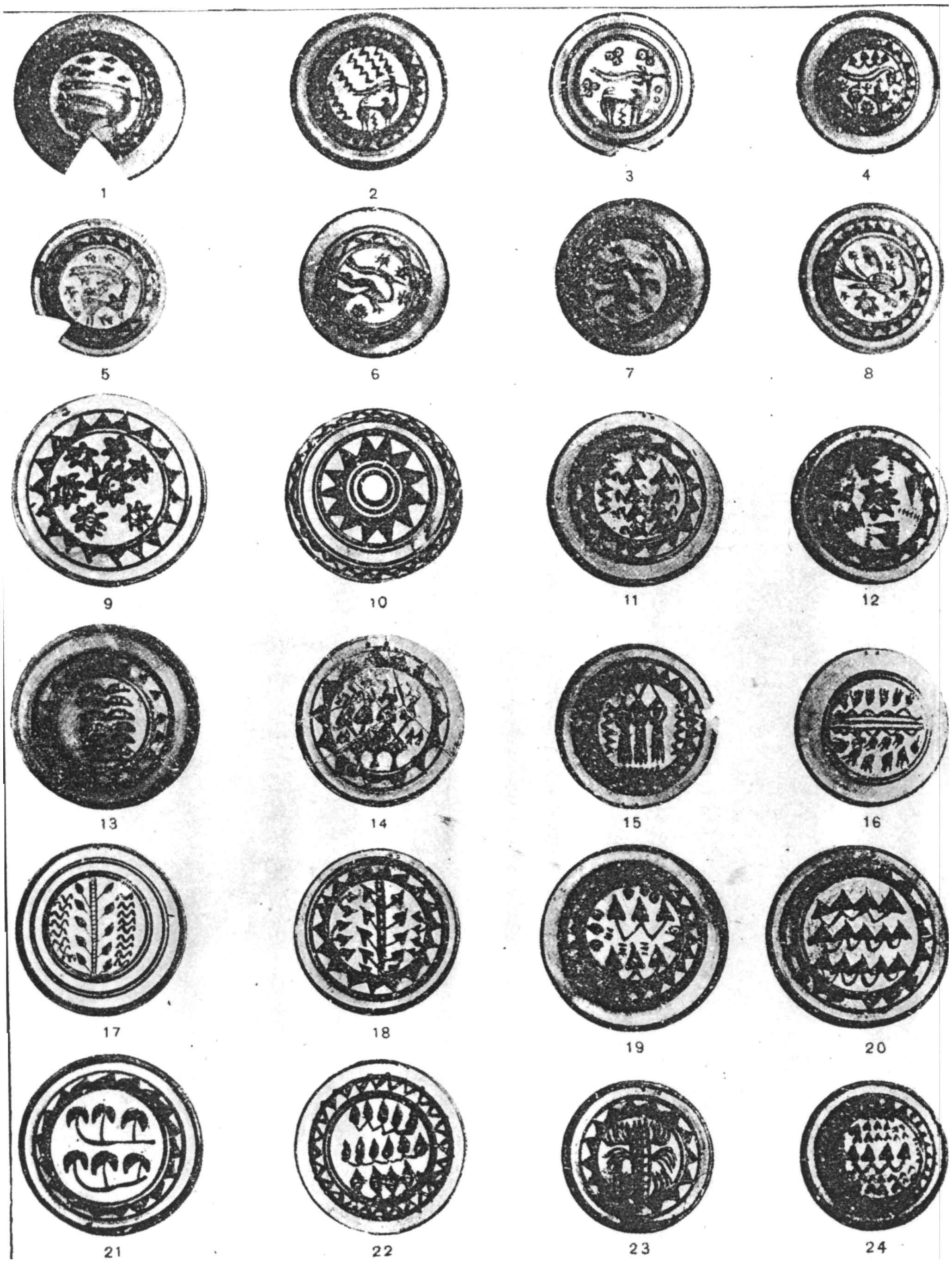

Harappa. Cemetery H. Paintings on the underside of flat covers from Stratum II [After Pl. LXIV in MS Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*].

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In almost all levels – Early and Mature Harappan levels and in Cemetery H pottery – peacock motif, antelope, papal leaf motif and feathers of peacock are recurrent painted motifs. The motifs are exemplified in the Cemetery H: painted decoration from pottery.

Figure of a person is ligatured within the body of the peacock with a wavy plume (first peacock on the right); The person shown within the circle is probably the depiction of the departed a_tman, who has, after cremation, become an ancestor. The stylized depiction of the arms is paralleled by the stylized depiction of arms (or horns?) of the copper anthropomorphs found in Copper Hoard Culture.

Eyes of peacock feathers on painted pottery [Marshall, MIC, Pl. XCI, 13 to 16].

The 'lotus' like stems adorning the horns of the ravine deer are comparable to the pictograph shown on a **cylinder seal from Ur which depicts the flower of *Taberna montana.*** Cylinder seal and impression. Gadd Seal No. 6 [After Pl. VI, 6 in: Gregory L. Possehl, ed., 1979, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.]

The peacocks are surrounded by 'eyes' of peacock feathers. The peacock feathers are also enveloping other pictorial motifs such as those of (1) an antelope with broad curving horns with seven sprouting flowers (lotuses?); and (2) a pair of antelopes (or bulls) again decorated with lotus or trident within the curving high horns and flanking a person who perhaps carries a bow on his left hand and an arrow on his right. The person's wavy hairs mimic the wavy plumes of the peacock motifs. On one painted theme on a potsherd, this pair of antelopes + person holding them by their tethers is amplified by a dog (? Or, tiger) pouncing on the tail of the antelope. Wavy lines which form patterns adjacent to 'fishes' are perhaps representations of flying birds.

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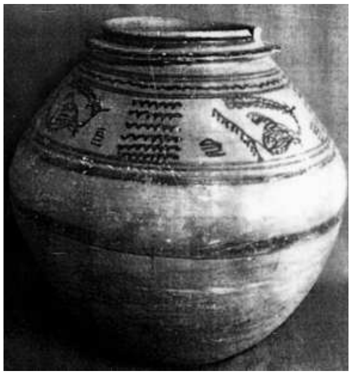
What words would have been evoked by these splendid and emphatic imageries of the adoration offered to the departed soul? Were these motifs rebus representations in hieroglyphs of a message conveyed to the departed?

Depiction of peacock, ravine deer and eyes of peacock feathers on funerary pottery

Cemetery H pottery motifs from Harappa. [After Vats, 1940, Pl. LXII].

Harappa. Large cremation urn from the later levels of Cemetery H. ca. 1700 BCE.



Dish-on-stand. Harappa. Cemetery H. From lower levels, ca. 1900 BCE. [After Fig. 9.5 in JM Kenoyer, 1998].

"…humped bulls with three papal leaves sprouting from the middle of the forehead and flying peacocks with antelope horns or a five-pronged tail made of pipal leaves. One spectacular form combines a bull's body, antelope horns and a human head and toso, with hands resting on the hips and arms covered with bangles. Although the style of these motifs is unique, the use of the trefoil and pipal leaf headdresses along with horned figures strongly argues for the incorporation of some Indus beliefs with the new rituals. Recent research at Harappa has shown that the transition from the Harappan to the Punjab Phase (Cemetery H culture) was gradual, thus confirming what was found in the excavations of cemetery H in the 1930s. The earlier burials in this cemetery were laid out much like Harappan coffin burials, with pottery arranged at the head and feet. Painted jars with high flaring rims are a new style that can be associated with highland cultures to the west, but the large jars with ledge rims and the heavy dish-on-stands have strong links with earlier Harappan styles. Decorative plates or lids and votive offerings in small pottery vessels were placed in the burials…In the later burials, adults were cremated, but children were placed inside large urns, then covered with a second pot. These large burial urns are heavily decorated with painted motifs described above. Cemetery H pottery and related ceramics of the Punjab Phase have been found throughout northern Pakistan, even as far north as Swat, where they mix with distinctive local traditions. In the east, numerous sites in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab provide evidence for the gradual expansion of settlements into this heavily forested region. Although the Punjab Phase

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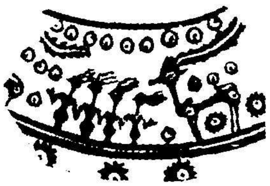
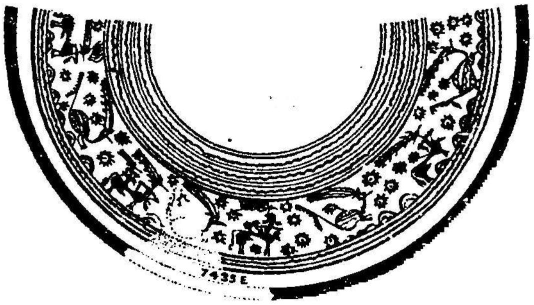
encompassed a relatively large area, the trade connections with the western highlands began to break down as did the trade with the coast. Lapis lazuli and turquoise beads are rarely found in the Punjab Phase settlements, and marine shell for ornaments and ritual objects gradually disappeared. On the other hand the technology of faience manufacture becomes more refined, possibly in order to compensate for the lack of raw materials such as shell, faience and possibly even carnelian.” [After Fig. 9.1 in JM Kenoyer, 1998, p.175].

mr.ta = dead , deceased , deathlike , torpid , rigid (RV.)



Painting on burial jar. Cemetery H. Harappa. The bull is ligatured to a person with wavy hair (analogous to the wavy patten of the crest of the peacock], an apparent orthographic depiction of the departed soul. [After Pl. LXII, 13 in MS Vats, Excavations at Harappa].

Painted pottery from the mounds. Harappa. The family of four departed are shown with wavy hairs (orthographically comparable to the ligatured bull on Pl. LXII, 13 pottery in Cemetery H) shown close to the black-buck with wavy horns. After Pl. LXIX, 18 in: MS Vats, Excavations at Harappa.



Wavy horns of the blue-buck painted on the underside of a flat cover from Stratum II. “Late Harappan Period dish or lid with perforation at edge for hanging or attaching to large jar. It shows a Blackbuck antelope with trefoil design made of combined circle-and-dot motifs, possibly representing stars. It is associated with burial pottery of the Cemetery H period, dating after 1900 BC.” [Kenoyer, www.harappa.com; See Pl. LXIV, 3 in MS Vats, Excavations at Harappa].

maryaka = the bull separated from the cows (RV 5.2.5).

के मे॑ मर्य॒कं वि य॑वन्त॒ गोभि॒र् न येषां॑ गो॒पा अर॑णश् चि॒द् आस॑ ।

य ईं॑ जगृ॒भुर् अव॒ ते सृ॑ज॒न्त्व् आजा॑ति प॒श्व उप॑ नश् चिकि॒त्वान् ॥

RV 5.002.05 Who have disunited my people from the cattle? was there not for them an invincible protector? may they who have seized upon that (people) perish, for he who knows (our wishes) approaches to (protect) the cattle. [Who have disunited my people from the cattle: ke me maryakam viyavanta gobhih = what enemies have despoiled my kingdom; an invincible protector: Agni].

me~r.he~t = iron (Santali)
mergo = with horns twisted back; rimless vessels (shaped like ‘U’) (Santali.lex.)
maruka, maru_ka = peacock, deer, antelope (Skt.); maru_ka = a frog (Skt.); marak = peafowl (Santali)
pincar me~t = the eyes on the feathers of a peacock (also called marak t.ikli)

Homonyms (pictographs):

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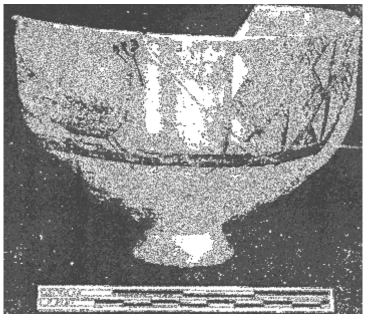
merom jel, metrec jel = the buck of the ravine deer, gazella bennettii. merom = a goat; merom boda = a he=goat merom me~t = the goat's eye (Santali.lex.) [Note the eye, dotted circle, depicted on a kid's body on a seal].
maran: buru = the great mountain, Paresnath, which is the highest in the Santal country.

martul = a hammer (Santali)
martu marak = the peahen (Santali.lex.)
mara~r, marar. = a small tree with gorgeous red flowers, erythrina indica (Lam.) (Santali.lex.)
ma~r.i~ = a corpse, a dead body; ma~r.i~ morda = a corpse (Santali)

maran: buru = the great or chief Spirit; **mar.an:** = before, first, in time or place; **maran:** = great, large, to become great, large, big, huge; first born, principal, head, chief.

maren = old, applied only to animate objects; maren hor kanae = he is an old man; ka~r.i = a corpse, a dead body; ma~r.i murda = a corpse (Santali.lex.)

The deceased spirit has become the Ancestor! Pitr.!



Peacock motif painted on a bowl. Rangpur. [After Pl. XX in SR Rao].

Funerary practices: why peacock ?

(*marak* = peacock; *sma_raka* = remembrance; ji_van-ji_vaka = cry of the peacock, peacock; living, the dead goes with life)

Why was the peacock chosen? A possible interpretation may also provide a clue to the language of the civilization. These imagery are assumed to be logographs. Thus, ancient forms of lexemes describing these imagery and corresponding homonyms (i.e. similar sounding words) are likely to provide leads to unravel further, the language of the civilization.

In Pali (Rhys Davids' lexicon), **ji_van-ji_vaka** (poss. onomatopoetic) means a bird, a sort of pheasant which utters a note sounding like **ji_van ji_va** (Di_gha III.201)... Also cited is a Jain phrase: **ji_vanji_ven.a gacchai ji_vanji_venan cit.t.hai** [Weber Bhagavati_ pp. 289,290 with doubtful interpretation "living he goes with life"? or "he goes like the *ji_van-ji_vaka* bird"?]

Peacock as a *va_hana* of Godess Sarasvati, the association is apt; Sarasvati river is revered as pitr.pita_mahi_ and ancestral worship continues even today in many ghats along the Sarasvati River, e.g. (1) Balarama's pilgrimage along the Sarasvati River, described in the s'alya parva of the Great Epic, *Maha_bha_rata*; (2) Pehoa (or Pr.thu_daka) **near** Kurukshetra, where a Vasis.t.a_s'ram and Sarasvati ghats are revered by a million pilgrims who take a bath in the Brahma sarovar and offer pitr. tarpan.a (homage to ancestors) at the ghats, which are more ancient than the ghats in Va_ran.a_si on the river Gan:ga.

Peacock becomes the *va_hana* also of Ka_rtikeya, celebrated in the region in later historical periods. Balarama offers homage to the ancestors in his pilgrimage along the Sarasvati river (cf.

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s'alya parva, MBh); there are many ghats along the river near Pehoa, Kuruks.etra where the tradition is for pilgrims to offer *tarpan.a* to the ris.is and during auspicious events such as a solar eclipse...

Ka_rtikeya is a warlord and nurtured by the divine ancestor mothers; this is why is the peacock associated with him.

The peacock on the burial pottery on the Sarasvati and Sindhu river basins is, therfore, perhaps a representation of the lexemes:

ji_van-ji_vaka which may also be interpreted as a message to the departed soul: May he live as he goes with life...

Blackbuck antelope: *marag* = horn; *mara* = dead; *sma_raka* = remembrance
murum = a Nilgae buck (Santali.lex.) **maru** = a deer, antelope (Skt.lex.)

Tulu: mair, Ma. Ta.: mayil (Tamil: payilpu_n~co_lai mayiler..unta_lavum-- Pur_na_. 116); Tamil: mayilam, mayir_pi_li = peacock feather; mayilai = fish; ash colour, grey.

J.Bloch saw the older lexeme to be Dravidian (BSL 76,16); J. Przyluski saw it as Austro-as. (BSL 79,100); Morgensteierne noted Savara **ma_ra_** = peacock; HW Bailey (BSOAS xx 59, IL 21,18) noted a link with Khot. mura_sa as orig. 'Indo-ir. colour word'... [loc. cit. CDIAL 9865]. **pincar marak** = peacock; matu marak = peahen; marak rak = peacock crow; marak t.ikli = the disc on the tail feathers of the peacock; korkot. marak = common peafowl. CDIAL 9865 notes: OAw. mam.ju_ra, mora; Nepali. mujur; Pkt. mau_la, mau_ra; Pali. mo_ra

Would it be possible to predict the older forms of this lexeme, reconciling the Drav., IA and Munda streams? The homonym, mara = world of death (AitUp.); maraka = epidemic (Skt.) may explain the depiction of the pictorial on a funerary pot, together with the homonym earlier observed: **ji_vanji_vaka** = peacock, cry of a peacock (Pali).

The Munda word for peacock ***mara'k/mara** "cryer > peacock", later Sanskrit *ma_ra* (and Pali etc) 'death, God Death', the Munda peacock symbol = death, and the Cemetery H peacock pictures on urns with cremated bodies.

Peacock and heaven (marak = peacock; **merxa_** = sky, heaven ?may the soul go to heaven); Parji. **marp- (mart-)=** to lighten; Kurux. **merxa_** = sky, heaven; Malto. **mergu** = sky, heaven; see Te. **mer_umu** = flash of lightning.

It would, therefore, appear that the image of a peacock connotes the resolve of the descendants of a dead person wishing that the soul of the departed may ascend to heaven.

Table at p. 247 of *Excavations at Harappa* by Madho Sarup Vats, 1974, Varanasi, Bhartiya Publishing House, lists many instances of burial pottery from Cemetery H, decorated with peacocks. Similar peacock designs on burial pottery have been found at many other Harappan or Sarasvati Sindhu civilization sites. New discoveries at Harappa have been reported by Kenoyer and Meadow in February 1999.

"Late Harappan Period large burial urn with ledged rim for holding a bowl-shaped lid. The painted panel around the shoulder of the vessel depicts flying peacocks with sun or star motifs and wavy lines that may

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represent water. Cemetery H period, after 1900 BC. These new pottery styles seem to have been introduced at the very end of the Harappan Period. The transitional phase (Period 4) at Harappa has begun to yield richly diverse material remains suggesting a period of considerable dynamism as socio-cultural traditions became realigned. "

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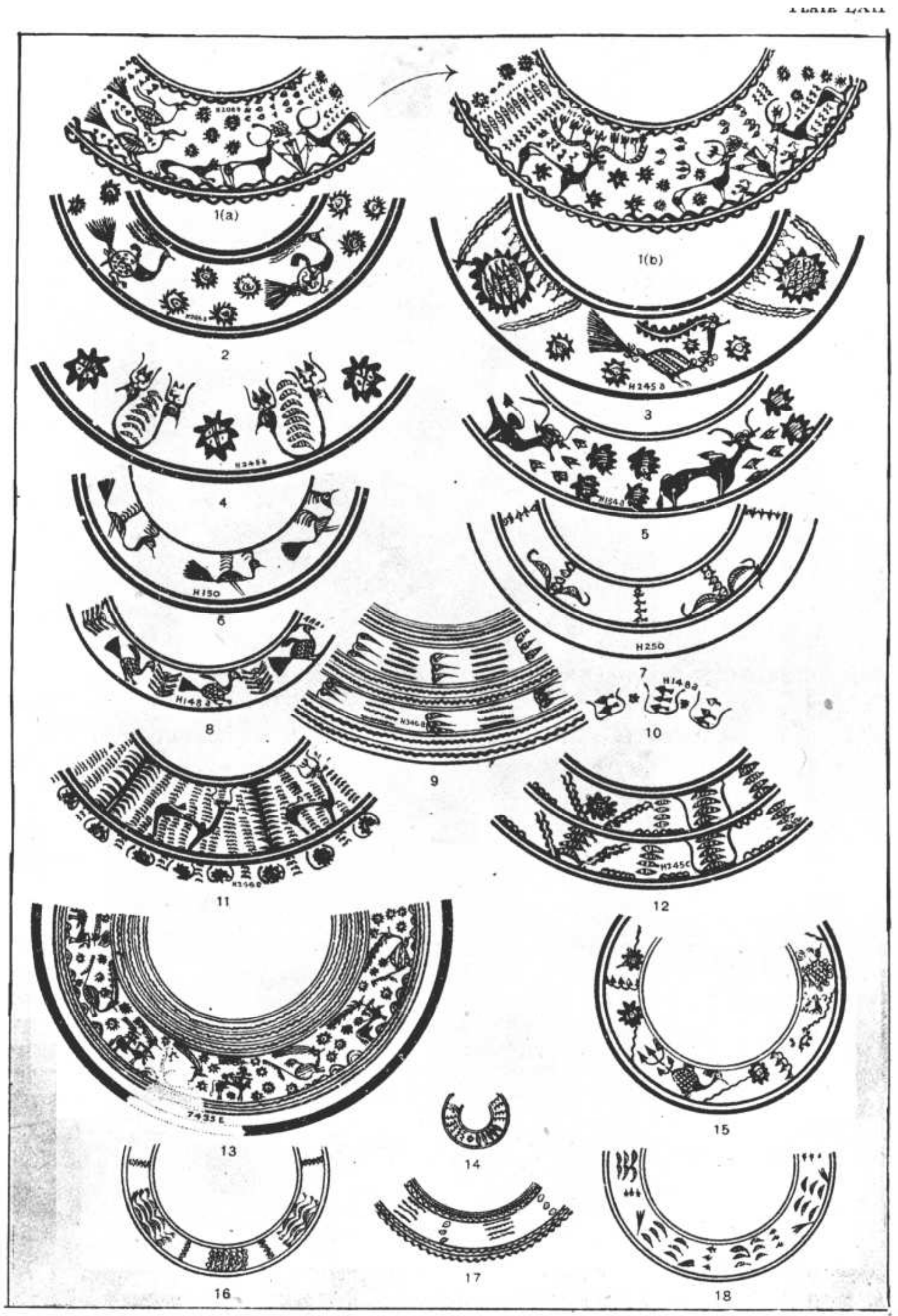

Motifs on funerary pottery, cemetery H, Harappa [After MS Vats, 1940, Excavations at Harappa, Pl. LXII].

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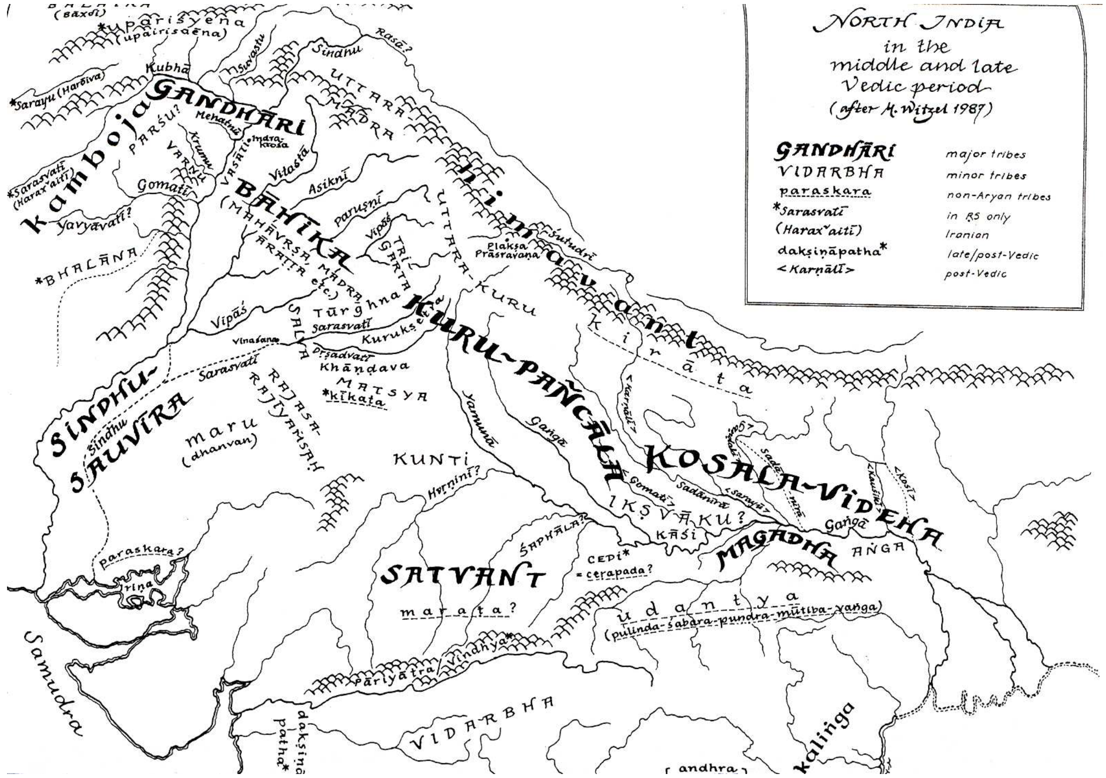
Bha_ratam Janam

An evaluation of textual references on 'five peoples' and the enunciation of the nation as Bha_ratam Janam (the Bha_rata folk) in R.gveda[1] and of archaeological/geological evidence on the River Basins of Sarasvati and Sindhu dated to periods earlier than and ca. 5500 years Before Present (BP). We will take a glimpse into the genealogy of the Pu_ru folk and the relative chronologies of other folk: Dasyu, Druhyu, Anu, Yadu, Turvas'a and the relative chronology of the Vedic Soma and Avestan Haoma traditions.



[Source: Michael Witzel, 1987, On the localization of Vedic texts and schools. In: Gilbert Pollet (ed.), *India and the ancient world*, Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta, 25: 173-213, Leuven.] This is a map related to the post-R.gvedic and Bra_hman.a and Su_tra periods.

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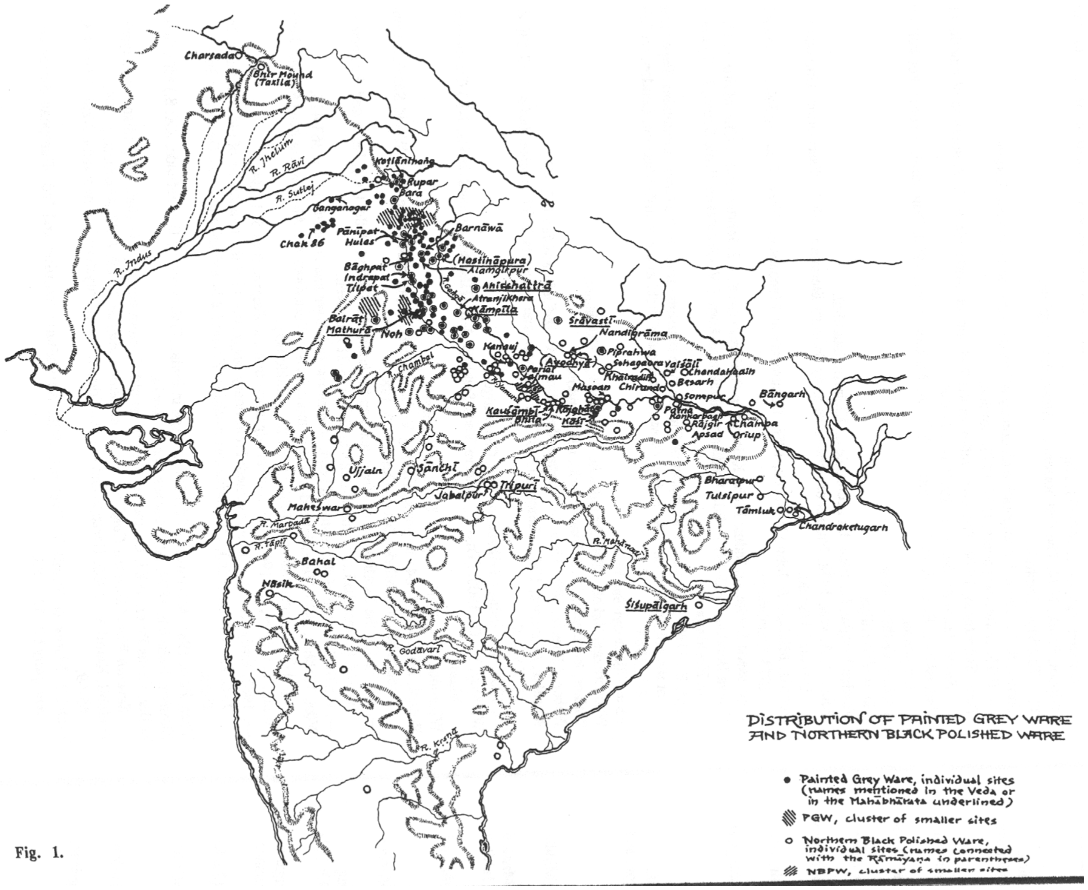

Fig. 1.

[Source: Asko Parpola, 1988, The coming of the Aryans to Iran and India and the cultural and ethnic identity of the da_sas, *Studia Orientalia*, Vol. 64: 195-302, Fig. 1]

Painted Grey Ware (PGW) culture is dated between ca. 1100 and 800 BCE, and is found in a continuous region from the Punjab, the Sarasvati River Basin and the mid-Ganga region. Settlements, like the large number of Sarasvati settlements, were villages. (DP AGrawal, 1982, *The archaeology of India*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Monograph Series 46, London). PGW was overlaid by Northern Black Polished Ware (NBPW) circa 600 BCE and until the first century BCE. A few PGW sites are stratified over a deposit of Ochre Coloured Pottery (OCP) dated to circa 2600 to 1100 BCE often associated with copper hoards of the Ganga valley. Black-and-Red Ware (BRW) is overlaid by PGW at Atranji-khera and at Bhagawanpura, PGW overlays Late Harappan settlement. It is a polemical exercise to isolate the layers of pottery types and relate them to any intruding or immigrant I-E speakers. It is a reasonable hypothesis that these pottery layers were simply regional variations in styles of an indigenously evolving Bharatiya civilization.

In the Indian tradition, Bharata's territory stretched from the River Sarasvati_ to the Ganges (MBh 7,68,2384; 12,29,939; cf. Pargiter, p. 273. Early Bharata were in the northern stretches of the River Sarasvati_:

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RV 3.023.04 I place you in an excellent spot of earth on an auspicious day of days; do you, Agni, shine on the frequent (banks) of the Dr.s.advati, A_paya_ and Sarasvati_ rivers. [In an excellent spot of earth: pr.thivya_ il.a_yaspade, in the footmark of the earth in the form of a cow; i.e. on the northern altar; frequented banks: ma_nus.e, relating to man or to Manu; implies, manus.yasam.caran.avis.aye ti_re, on a bank, a place frequented by men; the Dr.s.advati_ and Sarasvati_ rivers are well known (r.s.ayo vai sarasvatya_m satrama_sata : *Aitareya Bra_hman*.a 2.19)].

The north-western boundaries are indicated by the sequence of rivers mentioned in RV 10.75: tr.tsama_, susartu, rasa_ (a tributary of Sarasvati_ in the Himalayas?), s'vetya_, kubha_, gomati_, mehatnu, krumu. The limits seem to stretch from the Himalayas to the northern areas of the modern Sind. [Gairiks.ita-- RV 5.27 was a descendant in the Pu_ru lineage; the name is indicative of a link with a mountainous region, perhaps the Himalayas]. cf. RV 1.112.12; 5.43.9; 10.75.6 Zimmer, AL, 15-16; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II.209. Rasa_ may be a riveron the Punjab side of the Hindu Kush. S'Br 12.6.1.41notes that only Vasis.t.has, the priests of the Tr.tsu-Bharatas had the right to assume the duties of the Brahman; the linking of Tr.tsu and Bharata indicates the possible location of the River Tr.tsama_. Maruts march forth from the west towards the east, beyond Rasa_, Kubha_, Krumu, Sarayu_ (RV 5.53.9); Maruts are located close to the desert, close to the River Sarasvati_. [cf. the Marusthali_ = the Great Indian Desert].

The following text may be interpreted in reference to the movement of the people away from the River Sarasvati_ as the river started desiccating, a movement from west/northwest to east -- towards the Gan:ga_-Yamuna doab: BS'S 18.44: 397.9, **pra_m: a_yuh pravavra_ja tasyaite kuru-pan~ca_la_h ka_s'i_ videha_ ity etad a_yavam pratyan ama_vasus tasyaite ga_ndha_rayas pars'avo rat.t.a_ ity etad a_ma_vasyam,** 'Ayu went eastwards. His (people) are the Kuru-Pa_n~ca_la and the Ka_s'i-Videha. This is the a_yava (group). (His other people) stayed at home in the West. His people are the Ga_ndha_ri_, Pars'u and Arat.t.a. This is the ama_vasva (group).' Similarly, some references in R.gveda can also be interpreted as the movement of people from Gan:ga_ to the northern reaches of the River Sarasvati_ which continued to receive the monsoon waters from the Siwalik ranges: 'Indra...carry Yadu and Turvas'a across' (RV 6.45.1), 'they have crossed the rivers' (RV 4.30.17), 'have gone through narrow passages' (RV 6.47.20-21).

RV 7.033.06 The Bharatas, inferior (to their foes), were shorn (of their possessions), like the staves for driving cattle, (stripped of their leaves and branches); but Vasis.t.ha became their family priest, and the people of the Tr.tsus prospered.

> [People of the Tr.tsus: Tr.tsus are the same as the Bharatas. Sam.varan.a, the son of R.ks.a, the fourth in descent from Bharata, the son of Dus.yanta, was driven from his kingdom by the Pa_n~ca_las, and obliged to take refuge with his tribe among the thickets on the Sindhu until Vasis.t.ha came to them and consented to be the ra_ja_'s purohit, when they recovered their territory. Suda_s was an Aila king of North Pa_n~ca_la (hence, Ila_vr.ta vars.a); the tradition indicates that the Ailas came from the sacred mid-Himalayan region (Uttarakuru) into the Va_hlika_ country in the Punjab. Puru_ravas was succeeded by A_yu at Pratis.t.ha_na (Allahabad) and another son Ama_vasu founded a kingdom with capital at Ka_nyakubja (Kannauj). A_yu was succeeded by Nahus.a, whose son was Yaya_ti. Yaya_ti had five sons: Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru.].

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In the narration of the battle of ten kings --the dasara_jn~a battle – one key event reported is the crossing of the River Parus.n.i (River Ravi), the banks of which were broken through by the the opposing Turvas'a, Yaks.u (Yadu), Bhr.gu and Druhyu, Paktha, Bhala_na, Alina, Vis.a_n.in, S'iva (S'ibi); Bharata, led by Suda_sa, settle along the River Sarasvati_ and claim the region around Kuruks.etra:

A co-operating society of R.gvedic times

R.gveda attests to a co-operating society which was nurtured on the banks of the River Sarasvati (which is adored as ambitame, nadi_tame, devitame -- best of mothers, best of rivers and best of godesses - in 72 r.ca-s of the R.gveda). R.gveda also attests to a society which sought to establish an understanding of the cosmic phenomena in relation to beings (pan~ca-janam or bha_ratam janam) using the process of yajn~a which became the dominant cultural heritage all over Bha_rata cherished for millennia and even today, in a remarkable cultural continuity spanning millennia, the stability of which has no parallel in any other civilization of the world. While exploring cosmic phenomena, battles and wars are used as metaphors of the yajn~a; the society of the R.gveda was in a flux of socio-economic organization, by arriving at a modus vivendi of relationship with material phenomena and nature; this social organization was such as to promote the peoples' advancement. Wars were fought to acquire wealth and riches.

It was a cooperating society among the yajn~ika-s and others, both endeavouring to generate wealth; being united with common people they become of one mind; they strive together as it were, nor do they injure the rituals of the gods, non-injuring each other they move with wealth. (Sa_yan.a, the scholiast, explains sama_na u_rve as cattle -- common property of all: sarves.a_m sa_dha_ran.e go-samu_he).

त इद् देवानां सधमाद आसन्न् ऋतावानः कवयः पूर्व्यासः ।
गूळ्हं ज्योतिः पितरो अन्व् अविन्दन् सत्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्न् उषासम् ॥
समान ऊर्वे अधि सृलतगतासः सं जानते न यतन्ते मिथस् ते ।
ते देवानां न मिनन्ति व्रतान्य् अमर्धन्तो वसुभिर् यादमानाः ॥

7.076.04 Those ancient sages, our ancestors, observant of truth, rejoicing together with the gods, discovered the hidden ligh, and, reciters of sincere prayers, they generated the Dawn.

7.076.05 When the common herd (of cattle had been stolen) then, associating, they concurred, nor mutually contended; they obstructed not the sacrifices of the gods, but, unoffending, proceeded with the light (they had recovered). [Lit. = in the common vast assembled they agree, nor do they strive mutually; they injure not the observances of the gods, not harming, going with treasures, or with the vasus; vasubhih = us.asam tejobhih]. r.s.i: vasis.t.ha maitra_varun.i; devata_: us.a_

People on the banks of the River Sarasvati_: lapidaries and metal-workers

“How is the acceptance of this Sautra_man.i_ to be explained? We know that, apart from Indra, the As'vins and Sarasvati_ are associated with Sautra_man.i_ (VS 19.26). These As'vins, who are regarded as non-Brahmanical because they are the lords of Sura_ and Madhu, point to a non-Brahmanical land; where we should look for it is indicated by the name of the river: Sarasvati_. In the S'Br Soma and Sura_

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are repeatedly called the two andhas. As we have stated earlier these andhasi_ occur in RV 7.96.2 and that too in association with Sarasvati_. No matter whether this was the eastern or western Sarasvati_, contacts must have taken place on its banks between the Indians who followed Brahmanical customs and those who did not. The Sautra_man.i_ is the ritual expression of these contacts.'...The rivalry between Somapa, and the Sura_pa...there is a faint, yet perceptible difference between the seventh man.d.ala and the rest concerning the Soma cult in so far as the Vasis.t.has (the priests of the Tr.tsu-Bharatas) do not seem to have practised it to the same extent as the other clans. These Vasis.t.has were settled on the Sarasvati_ in Madhyades'a...La_t.ya_yana 5.4.20 states that there are two kinds of Sautra_man.i_, the Kaukili and the Caraka-Sautra_man.i_ ...In the RV, sura_ does not occur as often as Madhu...close association of the As'vins with these two drinks...S'Br. 12.7.3.6... somo sy as'vibhya_m pacasva (indicating that Soma was cooked)..." [Alfred Hillebrandt, 1927, *Vedische Mythologi*e, tr. Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, 1980, *Vedic Mythology*, 2 vols. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 326-327].

On the banks of the River Sarasvati which nurtured the people who have given the world, the R.gveda, also flourished the most extensive civilization of its time, ca. 5500 Before Present (BP). The expansive nature of contacts (mostly for trade) of the civilization is stunning, extending from Ropar on the east to Mesopotamia on the Tigris-Euphrates doab. This long-distance trade and contact was facilitated by the riverine and maritime transport systems on the Rivers Sarasvati and Sindhu and across the Gulf of Kutch and the Persian Gulf.

This civilization with urbanized use of burnt-bricks, organized streets, water-reservoirs and other water-management systems, street-drains, well-regulated system of weights and measures, workers' platforms perhaps used for metal-, shell-, and lapidary-crafts, was also exemplified by the transition to bronze-age with many inscriptions presented on copper plates and on copper/bronze weapons. Many urban archaeological centres such as Lothal, Dholavira, Surkotada, Kalibangan, Banawali, Kunal, Ropar on this River Basin were fortified settlements (often referred to by archaeologists as 'citadels' and 'lower towns'). The inscriptions are composed of normalized hieroglyphs and ligatured pictographs presented as 'signs' and pictorial motifs which often present ligatured animal bodies. The average number of 'signs' on inscribed objects was five and it is likely that the inscriptions conveyed arms and armour either possessed by warriors or produced by armourers for trade-- as veritable bills of lading. The artefacts unearthed by archaeology provide evidence of the evolution and continuity of the cultural traditions of Bha_rata on the Sarasvati-Sindhu River Basins. There is nothing among the artefacts which is not Vedic. On the other hand, there is nothing in the Vedic texts which do not find parallels in the archaeological discoveries -- e.g. references to maritime and riverine trade traditions and to well-developed cities abound in the R.gveda, echoing the archaeological finds of urban centres and trade contacts between the Sarasvati-Sindhu civilization and Mesopotamian CIvilization.

The River Sarasvati seems to have been the substratum of the civilization, nurturing as it did over 2,000 (out of about 2,600) archaeological sites on the river basins of the Sarasvati-Sindhu doab. The River Sarasvati was also the locus of both the Vedic culture and the Harappan civilization. Given the continuity of the cultural traditions in Bha_rata into the historical periods, it is perhaps apposite to hypothesise that the rise of the Maurya and the S'a_tava_hana dynasties during a few centuries preceding the Christian era, was a direct legacy of the bronze-age Bha_rata. It may also be hypothesised that the seeds of the Maha_bha_rata war were sown by this civilization which made available weapons and armour using the hardened alloy, bronze. The Great Epic, the Maha_bha_rata which is a narration of the mighty war which took place in ancient India seems to be an echo of the Dasara_jn~a wars narrated in the R.gveda and certainly constitutes the sheet-anchor of Bha_rata's ancient history providing as it does geographical evidence of the River

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Sarasvati while describing Balara_ma's pilgrimage for 42 days along the River basin from Dwa_raka, through Somnath to Mathura (S'alya parva), offering homage to his ancestors in places such as Pehoa (Pr.thu_daka, Kuruks.etra), Ka_ra_pacava (Yamunotri), Plaks.apras'ravan.a (origin of River Sarasvati in Himalayan glaciers in W.Garhwal, Har-ki-dun (Svarga_rohin.i) valley in Uttara_n~cal) and Mathura (on River Yamuna). The wars fought to ensure the path of righteous conduct in social organization also enabled the formation of the Bha_ratam Janam as a ra_s.t.ra, (both are terms used in the R.gveda), i.e. Bha_rata as a Nation State with a unity of purpose -- the enthronement of Dharma (a word that is tough to translate into English; perhaps, 'a human way of life' or, 'transcendental ethical conduct' expected of every citizen, in every walk of life). This Dharma is referred to in later philosophical texts as sana_tana dharma or 'eternal, transcendental ethical conduct' which is as old as human civilization itself.
With the desiccation of the River Sarasvati which supported the substratum of the civilization since the basin was close the sources of copper in Khetri mines, the vra_ta (troops) moved away from this river basin towards the Ganga-Yamuna doab, southwards to the Godavari river valley (to constitute the vra_tya of the Vedic tradition -- the magadha minstrels and the su_ta, the differentiated functionaries, the armourers and rathaka_ra who became the ratnins of the ra_s.t.ra) and beyond and westwards to Haraqvaiti (< Sarasvati) region (to constitute the set of kavi-s and karapan-s of the Avestan religious and Iranian national tradition). The memory of the great river Sarasvati ensures all over Bha_rata and neighbouring regions and even in Croatia where the word croats may be derived as sarasvati > haraqvaiti > hravat > kravat > croat; the word hravat is attested as a region in the Behistun inscription of Darius dated to ca. 6th cent. BCE.

R.gveda (r.ca 3.53.12) uses the term, 'bha_ratam janam', which can be interpreted as 'bha_rata folk'. The r.s.i of the su_kta is vis'va_mitra ga_thina. India was called Bha_ratavars.a after the king Bharata. (Va_yu 33, 51-2; Bd. 2,14,60-2; Lin:ga 1,47,20,24; Vis.n.u 2,1,28,32).

उप॒ प्रेत॑ कुशिकाश्॒ चे॒तय॑ध्व॒म् अश्वं॑ रा॒ये प्र मु॑ञ्चता सु॒दासः॑ ।

राजा॑ वृ॒त्रं जं॑ङ्घन॒त् प्राग् अपा॒ग् उदु॒ग् अथा॑ यजाते॒ वर॒ आ पृ॑थि॒व्याः ॥

3.053.11 Approach, Kus'ikas, the steed of Suda_s; animate (him), and let him loose to (win) riches (for the raja); for the king (of the gods) has slain Vr.tra in the East, in the West, in the North, therefore let (Suda_s) worship him in the best (regions) of the earth.

य इ॒मे रोद॑सी उ॒भे अ॒हम् इन्द्र॒म् अतु॑ष्टवम् ।

वि॒श्वामि॑त्रस्य रक्षति॒ ब्रह्मे॒दम् भार॑तं॒ जन॑म् ॥

3.053.12 I have made Indra glorified by these two, heaven and earth, and this prayer of Vis'va_mitra protects the race of Bharata. [Made Indra glorified: indram atus.t.avam-- the verb is the third preterite of the casual, I have caused to be praised; it may mean: I praise Indra, abiding between heaven and earth, i.e. in the firmament].

न साय॑कस्य चिकिते जनासो लो॒धं न॑यन्ति॒ पशु॒ मन्य॑मानाः ।

नावा॑जिनं वा॒जिना॑ हासयन्ति॒ न ग॑र्द॒भम् पु॒रो अश्वा॑न् नयन्ति ॥

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इम इन्द्र भरतस्य पुत्रा अपपित्वं चिकितुर् न प्रपित्वम् ।
हिन्वन्त्य् अश्वम् अरणं न नित्यं ज्यावाजम् परि णयन्त्य् आजौ ॥

3.053.23 Men, (the might) of the destroyer is not known to you; regarding him as a mere animal, they lead him away desirous (silently to complete his devotions); the wise condescend not to turn the foolish into ridicule, they do not lead the ass before the horse. [Legend: Vis'va_mitra was seized and bound by the followers of Vasis.t.ha, when observing a vow of silence. These were the reflections of the sage on the occasion: disparaging the rivalry of Vasis.t.ha with himself, as if between an ass and a horse: sa_yakasya = of an arrow;here explained, to destroy, avasa_naka_rin.ah; lodham nayanti = they lead the sage; lodha = fr. lubdham, desirous that his penance might not be frustrated, tapasah ks.ayo ma_ bhu_d iti, lobhena tus.n.i_m sthitam r.s.im pas'um manyama_na, thinking the r.s.i silent through his desire, to be an animal, i.e., stupid; another interpretation in Nirukta:lubdham r.s.im nayanti pas'um manyama_nah, they take away the desiring r.s.i, thinking him an animal; na ava_jinam va_jina_ ha_sayanti: va_jina = fr. vac, speed, with ina affix; interpreted as srvajn~a, all knowing; the contrary avajina = mu_rkha, a fool].

3.053.24 These sons of Bharata, Indra, understand severance (from the Vasis.t.has), not association (with them); they urge their steeds (against them) as against a constant foe; they bear a stout bow (for their destruction) in battle. [Sons of Bharata: descendants of Vis'va_mitra whose enmity to the lineage of Vasis.t.ha is here expressed; the enmity reportedly occurred on account of Vis'va_mitra's disciple the Ra_ja_ suda_s; Anukraman.ika_ states that Vasis.t.has hear not the inimical imprecations: antya abhis'aparthas ta vasis.t.adevas.in.yah na vasis.t.hah s'r.n.vanti; Niruktam: sa vasis.t.hadves.i_ r.k-aham ca kapis.thalo vasi.s.hah atas tana nirbravi_mi, this and the previous verse are inimical to the Vasis.t.has and he is of the race of Vasis.t.ha, of the Kapis.thala branch].

Alt. trans. (Griffith):"These men, the sons of Bharata, O Indra, regard not severance or close connexion. They urge their own steed, as it were another's, and take him, swift as the bow's string, to battle."

In r.ca 1.63.7 (r.s.i: Nodha_s Gautama), Suda_sa is called a Pu_ru:

त्वं ह त्यद् इन्द्र सप्त युध्यन् पुरो वज्रिन् पुरुकुत्साय दर्दः । बर्हिर् न यत् सुदासे वृथा वअग्
अंहो राजन् वरिवः पूरवे कः ॥

1.063.07 Indra, wielder of the thunderbolt, warring on behalf of Purukutsa, you did overturn the seven cities; you did cut off for Suda_sa wealth of An:has, as if (it had been a tuft) of sacred grass, and did give it to him, O king, ever satiating you (with oblations). [Purukuts ais a r.s.i. Suda_sa is a king. An:as is an asura].

Locus of the battles described in R.gveda

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R.gveda (r.ca by R.s.i Savya A_n:gi_rasa) refers to a battle involving 20 kings, involving A_yu, an ancestor of the Bharata; both the battles -- this battle and the battle of 10 kings involve Yadu-Turvas'a and Anu-Druhyu occur in Northwest India and the region is clearly the Punjab, stretching from the River Parus.n.i to the River Yamuna_, from the Ocean to Kuruks.etra, a region described as the centre of the world or the best region of the earth: vara a_ pr.thivya_h (RV 3.53.11). Ma_nus.a is a place (perhaps, a lake) in west of Kuruks.etra, where the Dasara_jn~a battle was fought (R.V 7.18.9; RV Khila 5.14.1; Jaimini_ya Bra_hman.a; cf. Avestan Manus.a). There is a lake named Manas in Taluk Manas, in Haryana, close to the River Sarasvati_. Similarly, S'a.ryan.a_vat is a pond in Western Kuruks.etra (JB)

"The association of the Bharadva_jas with the Pu_rus, with Divoda_sa, Sr.n~jaya and Br.bu leads us to the assumption that the Pu_rus or a part of them were settled not far away from the kingdom of Divoda_sa...in RV 7.8.4, a Vasis.t.ha proclaims the victory of the Bharatas over a Pu_ru. Hence, the Pu_rus must have extended their territories up to the Yamuna_ and Parus.n.i_, and seem to have spoken a different dialect than that of the Bharatas. In RV 7.18.13 they are called mr.dhrava_c, which means 'speaking a Barbarian language'...The events described in books 3 and 7 which take place mostly farthern in the east on the Parus.n.i_, Yamuna_, Vipa_s and S'utudri_ make it improbable that the Sarasvati_ mentioned in RV 7.95,96 on the banks of which the Pu_rus dwelt, can still be identical with Arachotos. However exuberant the description might appear, there is no other possibility but to locate them on the small river in the Madhyades'a, which was considered sacred in later periods." [Alfred Hillebrandt, 1927, Vedische Mythologie, tr. Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, 1980, *Vedic Mythology*, 2 vols. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 351-352].

A reasonable hypothesis is to interpret the description of the battles as a prelude to the battle described later in the Great Epic, the Maha_bha_rata.

1.053.09 You, renowned Indra, overthrown by your not-to-be-overtaken chariot-wheel, the twenty kings of men, who had come against Sus'ravas unaided, and their sixty thousand and ninety-nine followers. [Perhaps, a reference to A_yus, son of Puru_rava_s].
1.053.10 You, Indra, have preserved Sus'ravas by your succour, Turvaya_n.a by your assistance; you have made Kutsa, Atithigva, and A_tu subject to the mighty though youthful Sus'ravas.

Bharata, a Paurava king

The r.ca RV 3.53.11 and 12 by r.s.i Vis'va_mitra Ga_thina refer to King Suda_sa and says that this prayer of Vis'va_mitra Ga_thina safeguards the Bha_rata folk. Suda_sa of the R.gveda was a king of North Pa_n~ca_la.

Bharata, was a great Paurava king. (Va_yu 99, 137-40; Matsya 49, 14-15; Hv 32, 1726-7; BR 13,58; Agni 277, 7-8; MBh 1,94,3710-12; loc.cit. Pargiter, p. 159). Bharata made an offering to the Maruts; they gave him Br.haspati's son Bharadva_ja as an adopted son. Bharadva_ja thus became a ks.atriya; Bharadva_ja's son Vitatha (Vidathin?) was consecrated as Bharata's successor. (Matsya 49, 27-34; Va_Yu 99, 152-8; Hv 32, 1727-31; Br 13, 59-61; loc.cit. Pargiter, p. 159).

R.jis'van was a descendant of Vidathin Bharadva_ja who descended from Us'ija. Hence, R.jis'van in r.ca RV 10.99.11 is called aus'ija or the son (or descendant) of Us'ija. R.jis'van is also called vaidathina, 'son or descendant of Vidathin' in RV 4.16.13).

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Us'ija had three sons: "Chronological position: Ucatya (or Utathya), Br.haspati and Sam.varta; Ucathya's son Di_rghatamas by his wife Mamata_ and Br.haspati's son Bharadva_ja and descendant (probably great grandson) Vidathin Bharadva_ja. These rishis thus began in the country of Vais'a_li_, and moved westwards in time. Bharadva_ja moved to Ka_s'i_, and became purohita to king Divoda_sa II of Ka_s'i. Vidathin Bharadva_ja was adoped by king Bharata as his son, and the Bha_radva_jas remained connected with the Paurava dynasty... Bharadva_ja Ba_rhaspatya Vidathin, who was adopted by Bharata, is said to have had five sons, Suhotra, Sunahotra, Nara, Garga and R.jis'van, who were Bha_radva_jas and could claim optionally to be grandsons of Br.haspati or of Bharata....there were two Kaks.i_vants, both Aus'ijas, the first son of Di_rghatamas in Bharata's time and the second son (or descendant) of Pajra (and also probably a descendant of Di_rghatamas) soon after Divoda_sa." (Pargiter, pp. 220-221, 223).

अस्य स्तोमेभिर् औशिज ऋजिश्वा व्रजं दरयद् वृषभेण पिप्रोः ।
सुत्वा यद् यजतो दीदयद् गीः पुर इयानो अभि वर्पसा भूत् ॥

10.099.11 R.jis'va_, the son of Us'ija with Indra's praises shattered the cow pen of Pipru with the thunderbolt; when having expressed (the Soma), the venerable sage recited his praises, (Indra) proceeding against the cities (of the enemy) triumphed with his body.

Aitareya Bra_hman.a (7,3,5) and S'a_n:kha_yana S''rauta Su_tra (15,25) refer to Vis'va_mitra as Bharatar.s.abha, 'leader of the Bharata'. Suda_sa was a king of the North Pa_n~ca_la dynast, which was descended from Ajami_d.ha and Bharata. (Pargiter, p. 100). Vis'va_mitra Ga_thina, a descendant of the r.s.i Vis'va_mitra, was the priest of Suda_sa as the r.ca show.

Sa_yan.a notes that Vis'va_mitra was a descendant of Bharata, in his commentary on r.cas RV 3.53.13, 24:

विश्वामित्रा अरासत ब्रह्मेन्द्राय वज्रिणे ।
करद् इन् नः सुराधसः ॥
किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशिरं दुह्रे न तपन्ति घर्मम् ।
आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो नैचाशाखम् मघवन् रन्धया नः ॥

3.053.13 The Vis'va_mitras have addressed the prayer to Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt; may he therefore render us very opulent. [The Vis'va_mitras: The bharatas, or descendants of Bharata, are descendants of Vis'va_mitra; Bharata is the son of S'akuntala_, the daughter of the sage, Visva_mitra (Maha_bha_rata A_diparva); Vasis.t.ha is the family priest of the Bharats and was the restorer to dominion from which they had been expelled by the Pan~ca_las]. 3.053.14 What do the cattle for you among the Ki_kat.as; they yield no milk to mix with the Soma, they need not the vessel (for the libation); bring them to us; (bring also) the wealth of the son of the usurer, and give us Maghavan, (the possessions) of the low branches (of the community). [The Ki_kat.as: (Nirukta 6.32) are people who do not perform worship, who are infidels, na_stikas; in countries inhabited by ana_ryas (ki_kat.a_ na_ma des'ona_ryaniva_sah); na tapanti gharma_n.i: harmyam = a house; gharma_n.i = a vessel termed maha_vi_ra used at the rite called pragr.hya:

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pragr.h ya_khya_ karmopa yuktam maha_vi_rapa_tram, which the cattle do not warm by yielding their milk to it; usurer: a_ bhara pramagandasya vedas: maganda = kusidin, or usurer, one who says to himself, the money that goes from me will come back doubled, and pra = a patronymic; low branches of the community: naica_s'a_kham, that which belongs to a low (ni_ca) branch, or class (s'a_kha); the posterity born of S'u_dras and the like].

इ॒म इ॑न्द्र भ॒रत॑स्य पु॒त्रा अ॑पपि॒त्वं चि॑कितु॒र् न प्र॑पि॒त्वम् ।
हि॒न्वन्त्य् अश्व॒म् अर॑णं॒ न नित्यं॒ ज्यावा॑ज॒म् परि॑ णयन्त्य् आ॒जौ ॥

3.053.24 These sons of Bharata, Indra, understand severance (from the Vasis.t.has), not association (with them); they urge their steeds (against them) as against a constant foe; they bear a stout bow (for their destruction) in battle. [Sons of Bharata: descendants of Vis'va_mitra whose enmity to the lineage of Vasis.t.ha is here expressed; the enmity reportedly occurred on account of Vis'va_mitra's disciple the Ra_ja_ suda_s; Anukraman.ika_ states that Vasis.t.has hear not the inimical imprecations: antya abhis'aparthas ta vasis.t.adevas.in.yah na vasis.t.hah s'r.n.vanti; Niruktam: sa vasis.t.hadves.i_ r.k-aham ca kapis.thalo vasi.s.hah atas tana nirbravi_mi, this and the previous verse are inimical to the Vasis.t.has and he is of the race of Vasis.t.ha, of the Kapis.t.hala branch].

There are two renowned Bharatas who are mentioned in the R.gveda: Suda_sa and Divoda_sa. Both are noted as descendants of Bharata in RV 3.53. 9,11,12,24 and RV 6.16.19; the su_kta RV 3.53 is by Vis'va_mitra Ga_thina:

म॒हाँऋषि॑र् दे॒व॒जा दे॒वजू॑तो ऽस्त॑भ्ना॒त् सिन्धु॑म् अर्ण॒वं नृ॒चक्षाः॑ ।
वि॒श्वामि॑त्रो॒ यद् अव॑हत् सु॒दास॒म् अप्रि॑यायत कुशि॒केभि॒र् इन्द्रः॑ ॥

3.053.09 The great r.s.i the generator of the gods, the attracted by the deities, the overlooker of the leaders (at holy rites), Vis'va_mitra attested the watery stream when he sacrificed for Suda_s; Indra, with the Kus'ikas was pleased. [The generator of the gods: devaja_h = the generator of radiances or energies, tejasa_m janayita_; arrested the watery stream: astabhna_t sindhum arn.avam: he is said to have stoped the current of the confluence of the vipa_s/a_ and s'utudri rivers; indra with the kus'ikas was pleased: apriyayata kus'ikebhir Indra = kus'ikagotrotpannair r.s.ibhih saha, with the r.s.is of the kus'ika lineage, or it might be rendered, pleased by the Kus'ikas].

The r.s.i of RV su_kta 7.18 is vasis.t.ha maitra_varun.i; in the r.cas, RV 7.18.22,23, Suda_sa is named as the son of Paijavana and the grandson of Devavata.

द्वे नप्तु॑र् दे॒वव॑तः श॒ते गोर् द्वा रथा॑ व॒धूम॑न्ता सु॒दासः॑ ।
अर्ह॑न्न् अग्ने पैजव॒नस्य॒ दानं॒ होते॑व॒ सद्म॒ पर्य् ए॑मि॒ रेभ॑न् ॥
च॒त्वारो॑ मा पैजव॒नस्य॒ दानाः॒ स्मदि॑ष्टयः कृश॒निनो॑ निरे॒के ।
ऋ॒ज्रासो॑ मा पृथिवि॒ष्ठाः सु॒दास॑स् तो॒कं तो॒काय॒ श्रव॑से वहन्ति ॥

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7.018.22 Praising the liberality of Suda_sa, the grandson of Devavata, the son of Paijavana, the donor of two hundred cows, and of two chariots with two wives, I, worthy (of the gift), circumambulate you, Agni, like the ministrant priest in the chamber (of sacrifice).

7.018.23 Four (horses), having golden trappings, going steadily on a difficult road, celebrated on the earth, the excellent and acceptable gifts (made) to me by Suda_sa, the son of Paijavana, bear me as a son (to obtain) food and progeny. [The excellent: smaddis.t.ayah, an epithet of as'vah: prasa'sta_tisarjana_ s'raddha_di da_na_n:ga yukta_, being or having part of a donation made in the belief of presenting what is excellent].

Some cite the r.ca 7.33.3 and deduce that (Vasis.t.ha) came from across the Sindhu, i.e. from eaqstern Iran. Let us see the r.ca to see if this notation is valid:

एवेन् नु कं सिन्धुम् एभिस् ततारेवेन् नु कम् भेदम् एभिर् जघान ।
एवेन् नु कं दाशराज्ञे सुदासम् प्रावद् इन्द्रो ब्रह्मणा वो वसिष्ठाः ॥

7.033.03 In the same manner was he, (Suda_sa) enabled by them easily to cross the Sindhu river; in the same manner, through them he easily slew his foe; so in like manner, Vasis.t.has, through your prayers, did Indra defend Suda_sa in the war with the ten kings. [He easily slew his foe: bhedam jagha_na: bheda may also be a proper name; in the war with ten kings: da_s'ara_jn~e = das'abhi_ ra_ja_bhih saha yuddhe.]

The crossing of the Sindhu river is clearly a reference to the crossing of the river Beas (a tributary of the Sindhu) after the battle on the Yamuna with Bheda. As in many other r.cas, the word, 'sindhu' may simply refer to a 'stream'. It is notable that NO archaeological sites have been found on the right bank of the River Parus.n.i**. The archaeological site of Harappa is on the left bank of River Parus.n.i (River Ravi).**

A_rjiki_ya may be another name for Vipa_s'a (Beas):

10.075.05 Accept this my praise, Gan:ga_, Yamuna_, Sarasvati_, S'utudri, Parus.n.i, Marudvr.dha with Asikni_, and Vitazsta_; listen, A_rjiki_ya with Sus.oma_. [Gan:ga_...: cf. Roth's Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, pp. 136-140; Parus.n.i is another name for Ira_vati_. Marudvr.dha = increased by the Maruts or storm-gods; A_rjiki_ya = Vipa_s'a; Sus.oma_ = Sindhu; Nirukta 2.26; cf. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. 2, p. 355; a verse is inserted here in some MSS, not noticed by Sa_yan.a: "Those who are drowned at the confluence of the Sita and Asita go to heaven; the resolute people who abandon their lives (thus) enjoy immortality"].
10.075.06 You, Sindhu, in order to reach the swift-moving Gomati_, have united, yourself first with the Tr.s.t.a_ma_; (now be united) with the Susartu, the Rasa_, the S'veti, the Kubha, and the Mehatnu, in conjunction with which streams you do advance. [In conjunction with: saratham = lit. having mounted the same chariot with them].
10.075.07 Straight-flowing, white-coloured, bright-shining (Sindhu) bear along in its might the rapid waters; the inviolable Sindhu, the most efficacious of the efficacious, is speckled like a mare, beautiful as a handsome woman.

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10.075.08 The Sindhu is rich in horses, rich in chariots, rich in clothes, rich in gold ornaments, well-made, rich in food, rich in wool, ever fresh, abounding Si_lama_ plants, and the auspicious river wears honey-growing (flowers). [Rich in wool: of which, blankets are made; si_lama_ plants: which furnish cordage for fastening ploughs].
10.075.09 Sindhu has harnessed his easy-going, well-horsed, chariot, with it may he bring (us) food; the might of this inviolable, great, renowned (chariot) at this sacrifice is praised as mighty.

The peoples who live close to the rivers are mentioned in the R.gveda; Vis'va_mitra crosses the Beas and Sutlej rivers --Vipa_s'a and S'utudri_:

3.033.01 Rushing from the flanks of the mountains, eager (to reach the sea) like two mares with loosened reins contending (with each other in speed), like two fair mother cows (hastening) to caress (their calves), the Vipa_s' and S'utudri, flow readily with (united) waters. [S'utudri: legend (also given in Nirukta 2.24): Vis'va_mitra, the family priest of Suda_s, the son of Paijavana, having gained much wealth in his service, was returning with it home, when his road brought him to the confluence of the Vipa_s' and S'utudri; in order to make them fordable, he addressed to them the first verses of this su_kta, to which he replied, and allowed him and his followers to cross].

The battle with Bheda is chronicled in RV 7.18.9 and is held on the banks of the Yamuna and may precede the next battle at Parus.n.i.

आवद् इन्द्रं यमुना तृत्सवश् च प्रात्र भेदं सर्वताता मुषायत्।
अजासश् च शिग्रवो यक्षवश् च बलिं शीर्षाणि जभ्रुर् अश्व्यानि॥

7.018.19 The dwellers on the Yamuna and the Tr.tsus glorified Indra when he killed Bheda in battle; the Ajas, the S'igrus, the Yaks.as, offered him as a sacrifice the heads of the horses (killed in the combat). [Offered to him: balim s'i_rs.a_n.i jabhrur as'vya_ni : they represented the best horses, taken; bali may also have the import of a sacrifice].

The Avestan tradition remembers Vasis.t.ha as Vahis'ta.

The r.ca RV 7.33.9 does NOT refer to Yama .

त इन् निण्यं हृदयस्य प्रकेतैः सहस्रवल्शम् अभि सं चरन्ति ।
यमेन ततम् परिधिं वयन्तो ऽप्सरस उप सेदुर् वसिष्ठाः ॥

7.033.09 By the wisdom seated in the heart the Vasis.t.has traverse the hidden thousand branched world, and the Apsarasas sit down wearing the vesture spread out by Yama. [The hidden thousand-branched world: nin.yam sahasravals'am abhisan~caranti, they completely go over the hidden, tirohitam, or durjn~a_nam, ignorant, sahasra vals'am, thousand-branched, that is, sam.sa_ram, the revolving world of various living beings, or the succession of many births; the allusion is to the repeated births of Vasis.t.ha, who is the first of the Praja_patis, or mind-born sons of Brahma_, who is the son of Urvas'i_; hr.dayasya praketaih prajn~a_naih,

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internal convictions or knowledge; this may imply the detachment of Vasis.t.ha or his sons from the world. The apsaras sit down: yamena tatam paridhim vayanto apsarasa upasedur vasis.t.ha_h: te vasis.tha_h, those vasis.t.has or that vasis.t.ha; yamena = sarvaniyantra_, by the restrainer or regulator of all; ka_ran.a_tmana_, identical with cause, that is, by acts, as the causes of vital condition; the garb paridhim, vastram, spread, tatam, by him, is he revolution of life and death; janma_diprava_ha_h, weavin, vayantah; connecting this with apsarasah, the myphs, or, the nymph Urvas'i_, who sat down or approached in the capacity of a mother, jananitvena, wearing that vesture which he was destined by former nets to wear].

The r.ca RV 7.33.3 does NOT say that the direction of crossing of the river Sindhu was from west to east [or north to south]. It will only be a conjecture to deduce that the crossing was from eastern Iran. Just because Vasis.t.ha's descendants claim to be An:giras (RV 7.42.1 and 7.52.3), there is no basis for a conjecture about the locale of An:giras being eastern Iran.

S'Br (12.6.1.41) notes that Vas'is.t.has are th priests of Tr.tsu-Bharatas. Ludwig considers that the Tr.tsus and Bharatas are one and the same clan. (Ludwig, III, p. 185; Buddha, 1st ed., p. 413). Oldenberg (ZDMG, XLII, p. 207) notes that Tr.tsu may be identical with the Vasis.t.has who are the priests of the Bharatas.

Sa_yan.a interprets the r.ca 7.33.6 equating Tr.tsu with the Bharata:

दुण्डा इवेद् गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः ।

अभवच् च पुरता वसिष्ठ आद् इत् तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त ॥

7.033.06 The Bharatas, inferior (to their foes), were shorn (of their possessions), like he staves for driving cattle, (stripped of their leaves and branches); but Vasis.t.ha became their family priest, and the people of the Tr.tsus prospered. [People of the Tr.tsus: Tr.tsus are the same as the Bharatas. Sam.varan.a, the son of R.ks.a, the fourth in descent from Bharata, the son of Dus.yanta, was driven from his kingdom by the Pa_n~ca_las, and obliged to take refuge with his tribe among the thickets on the Sindhu until Vasis.t.ha came to them and consented to be the ra_ja_'s purohit, when they recovered their territory].

> This r.ca 7.033.06 referring to Bharatas is cited hereunder; cannot, by any stretch of imagination, lead to a conjecture that 'there was an incursion of the Bharata into the Punjab across the Sindhu."

[In this r.ca, Bloomfield, Contributions, V -- JAOS, XVI, p. 41 sees the account of a battle between the Bharatas (ks.atriya) and the Tr.tsu's with Vasis.s.t.ha (brahman)... Hillebrandt (vol. 1, 350) notes: "In this verse tr.tsu_na_m and bharata_h can hardly be identical; one would not understand the transferance of the names, much less can one call priests 'the regions of the Tr.tsus'. The difficulties seem to disappear when we regard Suda_s as an invader marching in the vanguard of the Bharatas, whom for some reason or other the Tr.tsus headed by the Vasis.t.has supported in his troubles and helped in his conquests. In

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the kingdom of Suda_s the two tribes merged together, and the Vasis.t.has became his singers."]

The alternative explanation offered by Sa_yan.a is consistent with the legend about Sam.varan.a, the son of R.ks.a, the fourth in descent from Bharata (the son of Dus.yanta), who was driven from his kingdom by the Pan~ca_las, and obliged to take refuge with his tribe among the thickets on the Sindhu until Vasis.t.ha came to them and consented to be the ra_ja_'s purohit, when they recovered their territory. Vasis.t.ha, the leader of the priestly clan of Tr.tsus might have crossed from the kingdom of the Pan~ca_las and Suda_sa helped him cross the Sindhu. There is no need to surmise as Hillebrandt does about an invasion by Suda_sa across the River Sindhu.

त्वद् भिया विशा आयन्न् असिक्नीर् असमना जहतीर् भोजनानि ।
वैश्वानर पूरवे शोशुचानः पुरो यद् अग्ने दरयन्न् अदीदेः ॥

7.005.03 Through fear of you, Vais'va_nara, the dark-complexioned races, although of many minds, arrived, abandoning their possessions, when, Agni, shining upon Puru, you have blazed, consuming the cities of his foe. [Puru: In RV. 1.67.3, Purave occurs as an epithet of Suda_sa, one who fills or satisfies with offerings].

त्वे असुर्यं वसवो न्य् ऋण्वन् क्रतुं हि ते मित्रमहो जुषन्त ।
त्वं दस्यूओकसो अग्न आज उरु ज्योतिर् जनयन्न् आर्याय ॥

7.005.06 Reverencer of friends, Agni, th Vasus have concentrated vigour in you; they have been propitiated by your acts; generating vast splendour for the Arya, do you, Agni, expel the Dasyus from the dwelling.

[There is nothing in these two r.cas RV 7.5.3,6 to surmise that Bharatas and Vasis.t.ha's move into Bha_rata. The r.ca-s are simply an explanation of the dislodgement of some groups within Bha_rata].

The other r.cas which contain a reference to bharata or bha_rata are presented below; in many references, the term 'bharata' is interpreted as a 'bearer' (of oblations) or as a 'priest':

तम् ईळत प्रथमं यज्ञसाधं विश आरीर् आहुतम् ऋञ्जसानम् ।
ऊर्जः पुत्रम् भरतं सृप्रदानुं देवा अग्निं धारयन् द्रविणोदाम् ॥

1.096.03 Approaching him,let all men adore Agni, the chief (of the gods), the accomplisher of sacrifices, who is gratified by oblations and propitiated by praises--the offspring of food, the sustainer of (all men), the giver of continual gifts; the gods retain Agni as the giver of (sacrificial) wealth. [prathama = lit. the first; here, mukya, chief (of the gods)].

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श्रेष्ठं॑ यविष्ठ भा॒र॒ताग्ने॑ द्यु॒मन्त॒म् आ भ॑र ।

वसो॑ पु॒रु॒स्पृहं॑ र॒यिम् ॥

2.007.01 Youngest (of the gods), Agni descendant of Bha_rata, granter of dwellings, bring (to us) excellent, splendid and enviable riches. [Descendant of Bha_rata: Bha_rata = sprung from the priests; bharata = r.tvija, produced by their rubbing the sticks together].

त्वं नो॑ असि भा॒र॒ताग्ने॑ व॒शाभि॑र् उ॒क्षभिः॑ ।

अ॒ष्टाप॑दीभि॒र् आहु॑तः ॥

2.007.05 Agni, descendantof Bharata_, you are entirely ours, when sacrificed to with pregnant kine, with barren cows, or bulls. [When sacrificed to with: vas'a_bhir uks.abhih as.t.a_padi_bhira_hutah, offered or sacrificed to with barren cows, vas'a_; will bulls, uks.a, and with eight-footed animals, i.e. a cow with calf; it is remarkable that these animals should be sprung of a burnt-offering].

य॒ज्ञैः सम्मि॑श्लाः॒ पृष॑तीभिर् ऋ॒ष्टिभि॒र् याम॑ञ् छु॒भ्रासो॑ अ॒ञ्जिषु॑ प्रि॒या उ॒त ।

आ॒सद्या॑ ब॒र्हिर् भ॑रतस्य सूनवः पो॒त्राद् आ सोम॑म् पिबता दिवो॑ नरः ॥

2.036.02 Maruts, together worshipped with sacrifices, standing in the car drawn by spotted mares, radiant with lances, and delighted by ornaments, sons of Bharata, leaders in the firmament, seated on the sacred grass, drink the Soma presented by the Pota_. [Sons of Bharata: bharatasya su_navah, the first is said to be a name of Rudra, as the cherisher or sovereign, bharta_, of the world].

यद् अ॒ङ्ग त्वा॑ भर॒ताः सं॒तरे॑यु॒र् ग॒व्यन् ग्राम॑ इषि॒त इन्द्र॑जूतः ।

अर्षा॒द् अह॑ प्रस॒वः सर्ग॑त॒ आ वो॑ वृणे सुम॒तिं य॒ज्ञिया॑नाम् ॥

3.033.11 Vis'va_mitra speaks: (Since), rivers, (you have allowed me to cross), so may the Bharatas pass over (your united stream); may the troop desiring to cross the water, permitted (by you), and impelled by Indra, pass; then let the course appointed for your going (be resumed); I have recourse to the favour of you who are worthy of adoration. [The Bharatas: said to be the same lineage as Vis'va_mitra's: bharatakulaja_ madiya_h sarve; perhaps this means, those who were the bearers of Vis'va_mitra's goods and chattels; Maha_bha_rata, A_di Parva 5.3734 cites Vasis.t.ha as the family priest of the Bharatas].

अता॑रिषु॒र् भर॒ता ग॒व्यवः॒ सम् अभ॒॑ विप्रः॑ सुम॒तिं न॒दीना॑म् ।

प्र पि॑न्वध्वम् इ॒षय॑न्तीः सु॒राधा॒ आ व॒क्षणाः॑ पृ॒णध्वं॑ या॒त शीभ॑म् ॥

3.033.12 The Bharata_s seeking cattle passed over; the sage enjoyed the favour of the rivers; streams dispensing food, productive of wealth, spread abundance, fill (your beds), flow swiftly.

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तस्मा॑ अ॒ग्निर् भार॑तः॒ शर्म॑ यंस॒ज् ज्योक् प॑श्यात् सूर्य॑म् उ॒च्चर॑न्तम् ।
य इन्द्रा॑य सु॒नवा॒मेत्य् आह॒ नरे॒ नर्या॑य॒ नृत॑माय नृ॒णाम् ॥

4.025.04 May Agni, the bearer of oblations, grant him felicity, and long behold the rising sun (in the dwelling of him) who says, let us offer libations to Indra, leader (of rites) the friend of man, the chief leader among leaders. [And long behold the rising sun: i.e., may the sacred fire long be hindled in the house of the sacrificer at the hour of sunrise].

जन॑स्य गो॒पा अ॑जनिष्ट॒ जागृ॑विर् अ॒ग्निः सु॒दक्षः॑ सुवि॒ताय॒ नव्य॑से ।
घृतप्र॑तीको बृह॒ता दि॑वि॒स्पृशा॑ द्यु॒मद् वि भा॑ति भर॒तेभ्यः॒ शुचिः॑ ॥

5.011.01 The vigilant, the powerful Agni, the protector of man, has been engendered for the present prosperity (of the world); fed with butter, (blazing) with intense (radiance) reaching to the sky, the pure Agni shines brilliantly for the Bharatas. [Yajus. 15.27; Bharatas = R.tviks, or priests; alternative rendering: Agni has been engendered by the priests for the present sacrifice; he shines so brilliantly that with his flames he touches the sky, the patron of the sacrificer, vigilant, dexterous, fed with butter, pure].

यू॒यं र॒यिम् म॑रुत स्पा॒र्हवी॑रं यू॒यम् ऋषि॑म् अवथ॒ साम॑विप्रम् ।
यू॒यम् अर्व॑न्तम् भर॒ताय॒ वाजं॑ यू॒यं ध॑त्थ॒ राजा॑नं श्रुष्टि॒मन्त॑म् ॥

5.054.14 You bestow, Maruts, wealth and enviable posterity; you protect the sage learned in the Sa_ma; you grant horses and food to (me) the ministrant priest; you render a prince prosperous. [The sage learned in the Sa_ma: sa_mavipram = samna_m vividha_m prerayita_ram, the prompt or instigator, in various ways, of the Sa_ma hymns].

उद् अ॑ग्ने भारत द्यु॒मद् अज॑स्रेण॒ दवि॑द्युतत् ।
शोचा॒ वि भा॑ह्य् अजर ॥

6.016.45 Blaze up, Agni, bearer of oblations; shine, undecaying Agni, radiant with undecaying lustre.

Veda-s underscore the rise of settlements, integration into a community, of all peoples, vis'ah (AV 3.4.2: tva_m vis'ovr.n.ata_m ra_jya_ya; AV 3.4.6: vis' elect a king) .

Ra_s.t.ra occurs in RV 7.34.11, 7.84.2, 4.42.1 and 10.173.1-2, 10.109.3, 10. 124.4 (where the king is asked to uphold the ra_s.t.ra). In these r.ca-s, the term may denote a territory of a king or a kingdom. A purohita is called ra_s.t.ragopa (protector of kingdom) in AB 8.25; ra_s.t.rapati (lord of a kingdom) and ra_s.t.rin (possessing a kingdom) are mentioned in S'atapatha Bra_hman.a.

राजा॑ रा॒ष्ट्राना॒म् पेशो॑ न॒दीना॒म् अनु॑त्तम् अस्मै॑ क्ष॒त्रं वि॒श्वायु॑ ॥

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7.034.11 He is the king of kings; (like) the beauty of the rivers his all-pervading strength is irresistible.

मम द्विता राष्ट्रं क्षत्रियस्य विश्वायोर् विश्वे अमृता यथा नः ।

क्रतुं सचन्ते वरुणस्य देवा राजामि कृष्टेर् उपमस्य वव्रेः ॥

4.042.01 Twofold is my empire, that of the whole ks.atriya race, and all the immortals are ours; the gods associate me with the acts of Varun.a; I rule over (those) of the proximate form of man. [Twofold is my empire: mama dvita_ ra_s.t.ram ks.atriyasya vis'vayoh; an allusion to the military and regal order; all the immortals are ours: vis've amr.ta_ yatha_ nah, therefore he is king also over svarga; the gods associate me with the acts of Varuna: kratum sacante varun.asya deva_ ra_ja_mi kr.s.t.er upamasya vavreh: vavreh = ru_pa, form; ra_ja_mi = ra_jatirais'varya karma_]..

आ त्वाहार्षम् अन्तर् एधि ध्रुवस् तिष्ठाविचाचलिः ।

विशस् त्वा सर्वा वाञ्छन्तु मा त्वद् राष्ट्रम् अधि भ्रशत् ॥

इहैवैधि माप च्योष्ठाः पर्वत इवाविचाचलिः ।

इन्द्र इवेह ध्रुवस् तिष्ठेह राष्ट्रम् उ धारय ॥

10.173.01 I have consecrated you, (Rasa); come among us, be steady and unvacillating, may all your subjects desire you (for their king), may the kingdom never fall from you. [A play on the words: rasa and ra_ja_, as the devata_].

10.173.02 Come into this (kingdom), may you never be deposed, unvacillating as a mountain; stand firm here like Indra; establish your kingdom in this world.

हस्तेनैव ग्राह्य आधिर् अस्या ब्रह्मजायेयम् इति चेद् अवोचन् ।

न दूताय प्रह्ये तस्थ एषा तथा राष्ट्रं गुपितं क्षत्रियस्य ॥

10.109.03 And (the gods) said (to Br.haspati), "This pledge of hers is to be taken by the hand, this is the wife of Brahma_; she has not made herself known to the messenger sent (to seek her), so is the kingdom of a ks.atriya protected".

बह्वीः समा अकरम् अन्तर् अस्मिन्न् इन्द्रं वृणानः पितरं जहामि ।

अग्निः सोमो वरुणस् ते च्यवन्ते पर्यावर्द्वइ१२९ष राष्ट्रं तद् अवाम्य् आयन् ॥

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10.124.04 I spent many years within this (altar), preferring Indra I abandon the progenitor; Agni, Soma, Varun.a, fall (from their power); returning, I protect that kingdom which awaits me. [Progenitor: i.e., the touchwood].

Genealogy of Bharata

त्वाम् ई॑ळे॒ अध॑ द्वि॒ता भ॑र॒तो वा॒जिभि॑ः शु॒नम् ।
ई॒जे य॒ज्ञेषु॑ य॒ज्ञिय॑म् ॥

6.016.04 (R.s.i of the r.ca is: Bharadva_ja Ba_rhaspatya) Bharata, with the presenters of the oblation, has joyfully praised you in your (two-fold capacity), and has worshipped you, the adorable, with sacrifices. [Bharata: the ra_ja_, the son of Dus.yanta; in your two-fold capacity: in the character of bestowing what is wished for and removing wht is undesired; is.t.a pra_ptyanis.t.a pariha_raru_pen.a_gnir dvidha_].

Bharata had two sons: Devas'ravas and Devava_ta (the Anukraman.i_ make these two the composers of the su_kta RV 3.23); and Sr.njaya was the son of Devava_ta:

अम॑न्थिष्टा॒म् भार॑ता रे॒वद् अ॒ग्निं दे॒वश्र॑वा दे॒ववा॑तः सु॒दक्ष॑म् ।
अग्ने॒ वि प॑श्य बृह॒ताभि रा॒येषां नो॑ ने॒ता भ॑वता॒द् अनु॒ द्यून् ॥

3.023.02 (R.s.i: devas'rava_ and devava_ta bha_rata; OR Vis'va_mitra Ga_thina) The two sons of Bharata, Devas'ravas and Devava_ta, have churned the very powerful and wealth-bestowing Agni; look upon us, Agni, with vast riches, and be the bringer of food (to us) every day.

दश॒ क्षिप॑ः पू॒र्व्यं सीम् अजीजन॒न् सुजा॑तम् मा॒तृषु॑ प्रि॒यम् ।
अ॒ग्निं स्तु॑हि दैववा॒तं दे॑वश्रवो॒ यो जना॑ना॒म् अस॑द् व॒शी ॥

3.023.03 The ten fingers have generated this ancient (Agni); praise, Devas'ravas, this well-born, beloved (son) of his parents, generated by Devava_ta, Agni, who is the servant of men. [His parents: the two pieces of stick that have been rubbed together by Devava_ta].

अ॒यं यः सृञ्ज॑ये पु॒रो दैव॑वा॒ते स॑मि॒ध्यते॑ ।
द्यु॒माअ॑मित्र॒दम्भ॑नः ॥

4.015.04 Radiant as this Agni, the subduer of foes, who is kindled on the (altar) of the cast as (he was kindled) for Sr.n~jaya, the son of Devava_ta. [Sr.n~jayas are a people in the west of India: Vis.n.upura_n.a]. A r.ca (RV 6.47.25) refers to a son of Sr.njaya in relation to Bharadva_ja_:

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महि॒ राधो॑ वि॒श्वज॑न्यं॒ दधा॑नान् भ॒रद्वा॑जान् सार्ञ्ज॒यो अ॒भ्य् अयष्ट ॥

6.047.25 The son of Sr.n~jaya has reverenced the Bharadva_jas who have accepted such great wealth for the good of all men.

The r.ca RV 6.61.1 refers to a Vadhryas'va as a son of Divoda_sa

इ॒यम् अ॑ददाद् रभ॒सम् ऋ॑ण॒च्युतं॒ दिवो॑दासं वध्र्य॒श्वाय॑ दा॒शुषे॑ ।
या शश्व॑न्तम् आच॒खादा॑व॒सम् प॒णिं ता ते॑ दा॒त्राणि॑ तवि॒षा स॑रस्वति ॥

6.061.01 (R.s.i: Bharadva_ja Ba_rhaspatya) She gave to the donor of the oblations, Vadhryas'va, a son Divoda_sa endowed with speed, and acquitting the debt (due to gods and progenitors), she who destroyed the churlis niggard, (thinking) only of himself, such are your bounties, Sarasvati_. (Divoda_sa: Vis.n.u Pura_n.a makes the father of Divoda_sa, Bahvas'va but this is a representation of the nameBandhyas'va; the churlish niggard: Pan.i is the obvious reference].

Ks.atras'ri_ is the son of Pratardana (who is the patron of r.s.i of the R.ca 6.26.8 Bharadva_ja Ba_rhaspatya):

अ॒हं च॒न तत् सू॒रिभि॑र् आनश्यां॒ तव॒ ज्याय॑ इन्द्र सु॒म्नम् ओज॑ः ।
त्वया॒ यत् स्तव॑न्ते सधवीर वी॒रास् त्रि॒वरू॑थेन॒ नहु॑षा शविष्ठ ॥

6.026.08 May we, adorable Indra, your friends, at this your worship, offered for (the acquisiiton of) wealth, be held most dear to you; may Ks.atras'ri_, the son of Pratardana, (my patron), by most illustrious through the destruction of foes, and the attainment of riches.

The r.ca 7.33.14 may also refer to a Pratardana; the term used is: Pratr.dah; Sa_yan.a however interprets it as a reference to the Tr.tsu:

उ॒क्थ॒भृतं॑ सा॒म॒भृत॑म् बिभर्ति॒ ग्रावा॑ण॒म् बिभ्र॒त् प्र व॑दा॒त्य् अग्रे॑ ।
उपै॑नम् आध्वं सुमन॒स्यमा॑ना॒ आ वो॑ गच्छाति प्रतृदो॒ वसि॑ष्ठः ॥

7.033.14 Pratr.ts, Agastya comes to you; welcome him with devoted minds, and he in the foremost station directs the reciter of the prayer, the chanter of the hymn, the grinder of the stone, and repeats (what is to be repeated). [Pratr.ts = Tr.tsus; in the foremost station: agre, in front, that is, as their Purohita].

R.s.i Vasis.t.ha Maitra_varun.i_ (RV 7.18.22-23) notes that Suda_sa is the grandson of Devavat (Devava_ta?); and that Suda_sa is the son of Divoda_sa; the r.ca RV 7.18.22 notes that Devava_ta is the son of Pijavana:

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द्वे नप्तु॑र् दे॒वव॑तः श॒ते गोर् द्वा रथा॑ व॒धूम॑न्ता सु॒दासः॑ ।
अर्ह॑न्न् अग्ने पैजव॒नस्य॒ दानं॒ होते॑व॒ सद्म॒ पयूर् ए॑मि॒ रेभ॑न् ॥

च॒त्वारो॑ मा पैजव॒नस्य॒ दानाः॒ स्मद्दि॑ष्टयः कृश॒निनो॑ नि॒रेके॑ ।
ऋ॒ज्रासो॑ मा पृथिवि॒ष्ठाः सु॒दास॑स् तो॒कं तो॒काय॒ श्रव॑से वहन्ति ॥

7.018.22 Praising the liberality of Suda_sa, the grandson of Devavat, the son of Paijavana, the donor of two hundred cows, and of two chariots with two wives, I, worthy (of the gift), circumambulate you, Agni, like the ministrant priest in the chamber (of sacrifice).

7.018.25 Maruts, leaders (of rites), attend upon this (prince) as you did upon Divoda_sa, the father of Suda_sa; favour the prayers of the devout son of Pijavana, and may his strength be unimpaired, undecaying].

R.s.i R.jra_s'va Va_rs.a_gira notes a Sahadeva as a Bharata:

ए॒तत् त्यत् त॑ इन्द्र॒ वृष्ण॑ उ॒क्थं वा॑र्षागि॒रा अ॒भि गृ॑णन्ति॒ राधः॑ ।
ऋ॒ज्राश्वः॒ प्रष्टि॑भिर् अ॒म्बरीषः॑ स॒हदे॑वो॒ भय॑मानः सु॒राधाः॑ ॥

1.100.17 Indra, showerer (of benefits), the Va_rs.a_gira_s, R.jra_s'va and his companions, Ambaris.a, Sahadeva, Bhayama_na, and Sura_dha_s, address to you this propitiatory praise].

R.s.i Va_madeva Gautama refers to Somaka as the son of Sahadeva:

ए॒ष वां॑ देवाव् अश्विना कुमा॒रः सा॑हदे॒व्यः ।
दी॒र्घायु॑र् अस्तु॒ सोम॑कः ॥

4.015.09 Divine As'vins, may this prince, Somaka, the son of Sahadeva, your (worshipper), enjoy long life.

A son of Sahadeva is referred to in the following r.cas by r.s.i Va_madeva Gautama:

बोध॒द् यन् मा॒ हरि॑भ्यां कुमा॒रः सा॑हदे॒व्यः ।
अच्छा॒ न हू॒त उद् अ॑रम् ॥
उ॒त त्या य॑ज॒ता हरी॑ कुमा॒रात् सा॑हदे॒व्यात् ।
प्रय॑ता स॒द्य आ द॑दे ॥

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एष वां देवाव् अश्विना कुमारः साहदेव्यः ।
दीर्घायुर् अस्तु सोमकः ॥
तं युवं देवाव् अश्विना कुमारं साहदेव्यम् ।
दीर्घायुषं कृणोतन ॥

4.015.07 When the prince, the son of Sahadeva, promised (to present) me with two horses, I withdrew not when called before him. [I withdrew not: accha_ na hu_ta udaram = a_bhimukhena kuma_ren.a hu_ta san ta_vas'va_valabdi_ va_ na nirgatava_n asmi, being called by the present prince, I did not go forth without receiving the two horses].

4.015.08 But immediately accepted those two excellent and well-trained horses from the prince, the son of Sahadeva.
4.015.09 Divine As'vins, may this prince, Somaka, the son of Sahadeva, your (worshipper), enjoy long life.
4.015.10 Divine As'vins, do you two make the prince, the son of Sahadeva, long-lived.

R.ca 4.38.1 notes that Pu_ru were ruled by a king called Trasadasyu who is adored with epithets, ardhadeva and vr.trahan:

उतो हि वां दात्रा सन्ति पूर्वा या पूरुभ्यस् त्रसदस्युर् नितोशे ।
क्षेत्रासां ददथुर् उर्वरासां घनं दस्युभ्यो अभिभूतिम् उग्रम् ॥

4.038.01 (R.s.i: Va_madeva Gautama) Trasadasyu has bestowed upon many the ancient (gifts) which were obtained by the liberal (prince) through your (favour, Heaven and Earth) you two have given a horse, a son, a weapon (for the destruction) of the Dasyus, fierce and foe-subduing. [Heaven and earth: the dual pronoun, va_m, of you two, implies heaven and earth; you two have given a horse, a son: ks.etra_sa_m : from ks.etra, land; urvara_sa_m: urvara, fertile soil; san = to give].

The r.ca of Sobhari ka_n.va (RV 8.22.7) is emphatic that Tr.ks.i is the son of Trasadasyu:

उप नो वाजिनीवसू यातम् ऋतस्य पथिभिः ।
येभिस् तृक्षिं वृषणा त्रासदस्यवम् महे क्षत्राय जिन्वथः ॥

8.022.07 Rich in food, As'vins, come to us by the paths of sacrifice, those by which showerers (of benefits), you went to gratify Tr.ks.i, the son of Trasadasyu, with vast wealth. [Alt. trans. (Griffith): Come to us, Lords of ample wealth, by paths of everlasting Law; Whereby to high dominion y with mighty strength raised Tr.ks.i, Trasadayu's son].

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यद् इन्द्र नाहुषीष्व् आओजो नृम्णं च कृष्टिषु ।
यद् वा पञ्च क्षितीनां द्युम्नम् आ भर सत्रा विश्वानि पौंलतस्या ॥

यद् वा तृक्षौ मघवन् द्रुह्याव् आ जने यत् पूरौ कच् च वृष्ण्यम् ।
अस्मभ्यं तद् रिरीहि सं नृषाह्ये ऽमित्रान् पृत्सु तुर्वणे ॥

6.046.07 Whatever strength and opulence (exist) among human beings, whatever be the sustenance of the five classes of men, bring Indra to us, as well (as) all great manly energies.

6.046.08 Whatever vigour, Maghavan, (existed) in Tr.ks.u, in Druhyu, in Puru, bestow fully upon us in conflicts with foes, so that we may destroy our enemies in war.

[Alt. trans. (Griffith): 'All strength and valour that is found, Indra, in tribes of Nahus.as, and allt he splendid fame that the Five tribes enjoy, bring all manly powers at once. Or, Maghavan, what vigorous strength in Tr.ks.i lay, in Druhyus or in Pu_ru's folk, fully bestow on us that, in the conquering fray, we may subdue our foes in fight'. Griffith adds: 'Tr.ks.i: a King so named, says Sa_yan.a.']

अस्माकम् अत्र पितरस् त आसन् सप्त ऋषयो दौर्गहे बध्यमाने ।
त आयजन्त त्रसदस्युम् अस्या इन्द्रं न वृत्रतुरम् अर्धदेवम् ॥

पुरुकुत्सानी हि वाम् अदाशद् धव्येभिर् इन्द्रावरुणा नमोभिः ।
अथा राजानं त्रसदस्युम् अस्या वृत्रहणं ददथुर् अर्धदेवम् ॥

4.042.08 The seven r.s.is were the protectors of this our (kingdom) when the son of Durgaha was in bonds; performing worship they obtained for (his queen) from the favour of Indra and Varun.a, Trasadasyu, like Indra the slayer of foes, dwelling near the gods. [Trasadasyu: Purukutsa, son of Durgaha, being a prisoner, his queen propitiated the seven r.s.is to obtain a son who might take his father's place; they advised her to worship Indra and Varun.a, in consequence of which Trasadasyu was born].

4.042.09 (R.s.i: Trasadasyu Paurukutsa OR Va_madeva Gautama) The wife of Purukutsa propitiated you two, Indra and Varun.a, with oblations and prostrations, and therefore you gave her the king Trasadasyu, the slayer of foes dwelling near the gods. [Dwelling near the gods: ardhadevam = deva_na_m sami_pe vartama_nam (yat sarves.a_mardhamindrah : Taittiri_ya Sam.hita_ 5.4.8.3); or, Indra is declared to be one half of all the gods, and therefore, entitled to the largest share of offerings, yat sarves.a_m ardham indrah prati tasma_d indro devata_na_m bhuyis.t.ha bha_ktmah]. [See Hillebrandt, vol. 2, p. 350: Purukutsa was a contemporary of Suda_s].

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The geneaology of Bharata is summarised in the following table:

Bharata

Pijavana

Devava_ta
Devas'ravas

Sr.njaya

Divoda_sa

Vadhryas'va

Pratardana (and son Ks.atras'ri_)

Suda_sa

Sahadeva

Somaka

Purukutsa (perhaps a contemporary of Suda_sa) (son of Durgaha)

Trasadasyu (son of Purukutsa_ni_)

Tr.ks.i (son of Trasadasyu)

Bharata's descendants were called the Bharatas or Bha_ratas...the main line (dynasty) at Hastina_pura and those of the Dvimi_d.has and of North and South Pa_n~ca_la, were Bha_ratas. (Pargiter, p. 113; MBh. 1,2,371; 62,2320-1; 74,3123; 4,2,912; 13,76,3690; Va_yu 99,134; Matsya 24,71; 49,11; Br. 13,57; Hv 32,1723; Ajami_d.ha had two sons Dus.yanta and Parames.t.hin, and from them came all the Pa_n~ca_las). [Dus.yanta is variously called: Dus.manta, Dus.s.anta, Duhs.anta; cf. Vedic Index, 1,382; "These forms can be reconciled through a Prakrit form Dus.s.anta or Dussanta, of which they are different Sanskrit equivalents, the form Dus.yanta being probably right and the brahmanic one misaken." (Pargiter, p. 129)]. S'akuntala (whose father was a Vis'va_mitra) lived in the hermitage of Kan.va Ka_s'yapa. She married the Paurava king Dus.yanta and was the mother of King Bharata. "Kan.va is said to have been the chief priest at Bharata's sacrifices, and Bharata gave him gifts; and he is no doubt this Kan.va (or perhaps his son)." (Pargiter, p. 232). Bharata's territory stretched from the River Sarasvati_ to the Ganga. (MBh 7,68,2384; 12,29,939).

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S'atapatha Bra_hman.a (1,4,10-19): "Agni Vais'va_nara went burning along the earth from the River Sarasvati_ to Videha; Agni burnt over the Paurava territory (including North Pan~ca_la) and the Ayodhya_ realm...it might mean that the reformed brahmanism passed from the Bha_rata kingdom to Ayodhya_ and then to Videha". (n. 2, Pargiter, p. 311). "(Bharata's) territory included the tract beweeen the rivers Dr.s.advati_ and Sarasvati_, and he sacrificed to the latter (MBh 7,68,2384-5; 12, 29, 939-40), which was a large river then. That region probably had some sanctity before, for on the Sarasvati_ was Us'anas-S'ukra's ti_rtha Kapa_lamocana and the river constituted the boundary between the Panjab and the Ganges-Jumna basin, whether it flowed into the Ra_Jputana desert, or especially if the sea extended northwards into that desert then. That region was held by Bharata's successors till long afterwards, and the connexion with them and their development of brahmanism apparently made it become specially sacred. This is supported by the general statement (ignoring special ma_ha_tmyas) that the most sacred region in the Kr.ta age was Naimis.a forest, in the Treta_ Pus.kara, in the Dva_para Kuruks.etra, and in the Kali age the Ganges. Naimis.a was on the RIver Gomati_ (Va_Yu 2, 8-9; Bd. 1,2,8-9; MBh 3,87,8301-3; 12,357, 13801) in the Ayodhya_ kingdom, thus the site of earliest sanctity in India is placed among the Ma_nvas in the eastern region. So the brahmans whom Puru_ravas came into special conflict with were the rishis of Naimis.a as mentioned above. The Dva_para age began between Divoda_sa's and Suda_s's times. Kuru reigned early in it, from his the region of the Sarasvati_ obtained the name Kuruks.etra, and so both became specially sacred in that age. The region was called Brahma_varta also, though from what time is not clear." (Pargiter, pp. 313-314).

The RV su_kta 6.61 is by r.s.i bharadva_ja ba_rhaspatya and the devata_ is Sarasvati_; in r.ca. RV 6.61.1, Divoda_sa is named as the son of Vadhryas'va:

इयम् अददाद् रभसम् ऋणच्युतं दिवोदासं वध्र्यश्वाय दाशुषे ।
या शश्वन्तम् आचखादावसम् पणिं ता ते दात्राणि तविषा सरस्वति ॥

6.061.01 She gave to the donor of the oblations, Vadhryas'va, a son Divoda_sa endowed with speed, and acquitting the debt (due to gods and progenitors), she who destroyed the churlis niggard, (thinking) only of himself, such are your bounties, Sarasvati_. (Divoda_sa: Vis.n.u Pura_n.a makes the father of Divoda_sa, Bahvas'va but this is a representation of the name Bandhyas'va; the churlish niggard: Pan.i is the obvious reference].

IIn r.ca 1.130.7 (r.s.i: Parucchepa Daivoda_si_), Divoda_sa is stated to be a Pu_ru.

भिनत् पुरो नवतिम् इन्द्र पूरवे दिवोदासाय महि दाशुषे नृतो वज्रेण दाशुषे नृतो ।
अतिथिग्वाय शम्बरं गिरेर् उग्रो अवाभरत् ।
महो धनानि दयमान ओजसा विश्वा धनान्य् ओजसा ॥

1.130.07 For Pur, the giver of offerings, for the mighty Divoda_sa, you, Indra, the dancer (with delight in battle), have destroyed ninety cities; dancer (in battle), you have destroyed them with (your thunderbolt), for (the sake of) the giver of offerings. For (the sake of) Atithigva, the fierce (indra) hurled S'ambara from off the mountain bestowing (uon the

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prince) immense treasure, (acquired) by (his) prowess; all kinds of wealth (acquired) by (his) prowess. [nr.to = voc.of nr.tu, a dancer; ran.e nartanas'i_la, dancing in war; S'ambara is an asura who was engaged in hostilities with Kr.s.n.a, and finally destroyed, together with his six hundred sons, by Pradyumna, the grandson of Kr.s.n.a (cf. Harivams'a, Langlois, vol. iii, p. 169). Mah_bha_rata represents S'ambara as an adversary of Indra, in Dron.a-vijaya].

Parucchepa Daivoda_si_ is a Bharata and often styled a Pu_ru as seen in RV 1.129.5 and 1.131.4:

नेषि णो यथा पुरानेनाः शूर मन्यसे ।
विश्वानि पूरोर् अप पर्षि वह्निर् आसा वह्निर् नो अच्छ ॥

1.129.05 Humble the adversary of every one (your worshippers) fierce (Indra), by your aids, like radiant paths, (to glory); by your powerful aids, gude us, hero, as you have guided our forefathers, for you are honoured (by all). You (Indra), who are the sustainer (of the world), remove all (the sins) of man; present at our sacrifice, you are the bearer (of good things).

विदुष् टे अस्य वीर्यस्य पूरवः पुरो यद् इन्द्र शारदीर् अवातिरः सासहानो अवातिरः ।
शासस् तम् इन्द्र मर्त्यम् अयज्युं शवसस् पते ।
महीम् अमुष्णाः पृथिवीम् इमा अपो मन्दसान इमा अपः ॥

1.131.04 The ancients have have known of that your prowess, by which, Indra, you destroy the perennial cities (of the asuras); you have destroyed them, humiliating (their defenders). You have chastised, Lord of Strength, the mortal who offers not sacrifice; you have rescued this spacious earth and these waters; exulting, (you have recovered) these waters. [purah s'a_radi_h, defended, for a year by walls, ditches and the like: sam.vatsara paryantam pra_ka_ra- parikha_dibhir dr.d.hi_kr.ta_h].

The r.s.i bharadva_ja ba_rhaspatya notes in r.ca RV 6.16.19 that Divoda_sa is a descendant of Bharata, 'bha_rato vr.tr.ha_':

अग्निर् अगामि भारतो वृत्रहा पुरुचेतनः ।
दिवोदासस्य सत्पतिः ॥

6.016.19 Agni, the bearer, (of oblations), the destroyer of the enemies of Divoda_sa, the cognizant of many, the protector of the good, has been brought hither (by our praises).

The r.s.i of RV su_kta 10.102 is mudgala bha_rmyas'va; Mudgala's descendants were of North Pa_n~ca_la and were 'ks.atriya brahmans' and joined the An:girasas (Va_yu 99, 198-201; Matsya

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50, 5-7; Hv 32, 17814; Br 13,97; cf. Pargiter, p. 251). Mudgala's grandson was Vadhryas'va. Vadhryas'va's son was Divoda_sa.[cf. RV 10.69.2, 4, 9, 10; RV 8.103.2 which refer to Vadhryas'va and Divoda_sa]. Divoda_sa's successor was king Mitrayu. Mitrayu's son was Maitreya who joined he Bha_rgava vam.s'a. (Matsya 195,40). Pratadrana, son of Divoda_sa, was king of Ka_s'i and one of the authors of RV 10.179. Pratardana Daivoda_si, possibly a descendant of Divoda_sa, the king of North Pa_n~ca_la, is the author of RV 9.96. Parucchepa Daivoda_si is mentioned as the author of RV 1.127 to 139); his son or descendant Ana_nata is the author if RV 9.96. Sumitra Va_dhryas'va is the author of RV 10.69 and 70 and a contemporary of King Cyavana Pijavana. (Pargiter, p. 251).

न्य् अक्रन्दयन्न् उप॒यन्त॑ ए॒नम् अमे॑हयन् वृष॒भम् मध्य॑ आ॒जेः ।
तेन॒ सूभ॑र्वं श॒तव॑त् स॒हस्रं॒ गवा॒म् मुद्ग॑लः प्र॒धने॑ जिगाय ॥

10.102.05 Approaching the bull, they made him roar in the midst of the battle. I, Mudgala, have thereby gained in war hundreds and thousands of cattle well-pastured.

इ॒मं तम् प॑श्य वृष॒भस्य॒ युञ्जं॒ काष्ठा॑या॒ मध्ये॑ द्रु॒घणं॒ शया॑नम् ।
येन॑ जि॒गाय॑ श॒तव॑त् स॒हस्रं॒ गवा॒म् मुद्ग॑लः पृत॒नाज्ये॑षु ॥

10.102.09 Behold this club, the ally of the bull, resting in the midst of the conflict, with which I, Mudgala, have won hundreds and thousands of cattle in war.

Suda_sa was a descendant of Divoda_sa. In r.ca 7.8.4, there is an indication by the r.s.i Vasis.t.ha Maitra_varun.i that Bharatas became victorious over Pu_ru. The battle took place on the banks of Parus.n.i, closen to Manasa lake (Haryana), west of Kuruks.etra and it is apparent that the Pu_rus had their territory from Parus.n.i (River Ravi) and Yamuna_.

प्रभप्रा॒यम् अ॒ग्निर् भ॑र॒तस्य॑ शृण्वे॒ वि यत् सूर्यो॒ न रोच॑ते बृ॒हद् भाः ।
अ॒भि यः पू॒रुम् पृत॑नासु त॒स्थौ द्यु॑ता॒नो दैव्यो॒ अति॑थिः शुशोच ॥

7.008.04 This Agni is greatly celebrated by the institutor of the rite when he shines resplendent as the sun; he who overcame Puru in battle, and shone glorious as the guest of the gods. [Is greatley celebrated: bharasya s'r.n.ve, yajama_nasya prathito bhavati; or, yajama_nasya a_hva_nam s'r.n.oti, he hears the invocation of the worshipper].

In r.cas RV 6.61.1 to 3, Divoda_sa is noted as the son of Vadhryas'va and as living on the banks of the River Sarasvati_. Hie enemies are: Pan.i, Pa_ra_vata and Br.saya. In the Har-ki-dun valley (from where the River Sarasvati originated from the Bandarpunch massif of the Himalayas in W. Garhwal), there live a people called 'parvatis' who celebrate Duryodhana as their god and hold an annual festival in his honour!

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इयम् अददाद् रभसम् ऋणच्युतं दिवोदासं वध्र्यश्वाय दाशुषे ।
या शश्वन्तम् आचखादावसम् पणिं ता ते दात्राणि तविषा सरस्वति ॥
इयं शुष्मेभिर् बिसखा इवारुजत् सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिर् ऊर्मिभिः ।
पारावतघ्नीम् अवसे सुवृक्तिभिः सरस्वतीम् आ विवासेम धीतिभिः ॥
सरस्वति देवनिदो नि बर्हय प्रजां विश्वस्य बृसयस्य मायिनः ।
उत क्षितिभ्यो ऽवनीर् अविन्दो विषम् एभ्यो अस्रवो वाजिनीवति ॥

6.061.01 She gave to the donor of the oblations, Vadhryas'va, a son Divoda_sa endowed with speed, and acquitting the debt (due to gods and progenitors), she who destroyed the churlis niggard, (thinking) only of himself, such are your bounties, Sarasvati_. (Divoda_sa: Vis.n.u Pura_n.a makes the father of Divoda_sa, Bahvas'va but this is a representation of the nameBandhyas'va; the churlish niggard: Pan.i is the obvious reference].

6.061.02 With impetuous and mighty waves she breaks down the precipices of the mountains, like a digger for the lotus fibres; we adore for our protection, the praises and with sacred rites, Sarasvati_ the underminer of both her banks. [With impetuous and mighty waters: the firs r.ca addresses Sarasvati_ as a goddess; in this r.ca, she is praised as a river; in this entire su_kta, this alternative attribution is apparent; like a digger for the lotus-fibres: bisa-kha_ iva bisam khanati, who digs the bisa, the long fibres of the stem of the lotus, in delving for which he breaks down the banks of the pond].

6.061.03 Destroy, Sarasvati_, the revilers of the gods, the offspring of the universal deluder, Br.saya; giver of sustenance, you have acquired for men the lands (seized by the asuras), and have showered water upon them. [Br.saya: Br.saya is a name of Tvas.t.a_, whose son was Vr.tra; Sa_yan.a, provides a legend in his introduction to the Black Taittiri_a Yajus., to illustrate te importance of correctly accentuating the words of the Veda: Indra, had killed a son of Tvas.t.a_, named Vis'varu_pa, in conseqence of which there was enmity between them. Upon the occasion of a Soma sacrifice celebrated by Tvas.t.a_, he omitted to include Indra in his invitation to the gods. Indra, however, came an uninvited guest, and by force took a part of the Soma libation. With the remainder Tvas.t.a_ performed a sacrifice for the birth of an individual who should avenge his quarrel and destroy his adversary, directing the priest to pray, now let a man be born and prosper, the killer of Indra. In uttering the mantra, however, the officiating priest made a mistake in the accentuation of the term indragha_taka, slayer of Indra, in which sense as a tatpurus.a compound, the acute accent should have been placed upon the last syllable. Instead of this, the reciter of the mantra placed the acent upon the first syllable, whereby the compound became a bahuvri_hi epithet, signifying one of whom Indra is the slayer. Consequently, wen by virtue of the rite, Vr.tra was produced, he was fore-doomed by the wrong accentuation to be put to death by Indra instead of becoming the destroyer. You have acquired for men: ks.itibhyo avani_ravindo vis.am abhyo asravah = you have shed poison upon them, or destroyed them].

> [Alt. Hillebrandt, vol. 1, p. 341: "To the pious Vadhryas'va she gave the impetuous Dioda_sa, who redeems all debts. These mighty gifts come from you, O Sarasvati_, who consumed the obstinate, intractable Pan.i. Like one digging for roots, she violently broke through the ridge of the mountains with her mighty waves. With hymns and thoughts, let us invite the help of Sarasvati_, who slew the Pa_ra_vatas. Sarasvati_,

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cast you don the enemies of the gods, the progeny of every sly Br.saya. O you rich in horses, you gave the streams back to our abodes and made poison flow towards them." Hillebrandt notes hat the "expression praja_ vis'vasya br.sayasya requires that we interpret the word as the name of a tribe" and goes on to identify the Br.saya with the name of Barsaetes (Barzaentes) governor of Arachoti. (vol. 1, p. 343)].

Pu_ru and Kashmir

Pu_ru and Nahus.a were settled on the banks of the River Sarasvati_ (RV 7.96.2; 7.95.2)

उभे यत् ते महिना शुभ्रे अन्धसी अधिक्षियन्ति पूरवः ।
सा नो बोध्य् अवित्री मरुत्सखा चोद राधो मघोनाम् ॥

7.096.02 Beautiful Sarasvati_, inasmuch as by your might men obtain both kinds of food, do you, our protectress, regard us; do you, the friend of the Maruts, bestow riches upon those who are affluent (in oblations). [Both kinds of food: ubhe andhasi_ = fires celestial and terrestrial; or if the reference is to food: gra_myam a_ran.yam va_, domestic and wild].

[Alt. Hillebrandt (vol.2, p.148): When the Pu_rus seize both the andhas (on your banks) by force, then, you radiant one, be merciful to us as the friend of the Maruts and direct the favour of the mighty ones towards us. "Considering the abundace of evidence for the usual meaning of andhas, he only meaning andhasi_ could have is 'the two plants' or 'the two juices'. As a matter of fact, the commentary on the S'Br says 'anne'...In his commentary, LUdwig has referred to S"Br 5.1.2.10 where it is said: praja_pater va_ ete andhasi_ yat somas' ca sura_ ca tatah satyam s'ri_r jyotih somo 'nr.tam pa_pma_ tamah sura_ ete evaitad abhe andhasi_ ujjayati, 'both these driks, Soma and Sura_, belong to Praa_pati. Therefore Soma, is truth, prosperity, light. But Sura_ is untruth, baseness, darkness. He gains both these drinks.'...KS'S 19.1.18 prescribes..s'as.pakraya, the 'purchasing of s'as.pa', and the commentary explains s'as.pa as germinated rice; others think that it is only a kind of grass...the deity, who is adresses as s'ubhra in our R.gvedic verse, is precisely the Sarasvati_ on whose banks the Pu_rus were settled. In Indian tradition the Sarasvati_ is regarded as the stream on whose banks the gods sowed barley mixed with sweets. At leas, in a magi formula of the AV (6.30.1) it is said: deva_ imam madhuna_ sam.yutam yavam sarasvaya_m adhi man.a_v acarkr.s.uh indra a_si_t si_rapatih s'atakratuh kina_s'a_ a_san marutah suda_navah, 'The gods sowed at the Sarasvati_ barley mixed with honey over an amulet. Indra S'atakratu was he lord of the plough, the abundantly bestowing Maruts were the drivers'...andhasi_ are the two plants which supply the most delicious of drinks, Soma and Sura_. adhiks.iyanti, 'to spread out over', means just as much as ujjayati in the passage from S'Br cited above..." (pp. 147-148).]

एकाचेतत् सरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर् यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात् ।
रायश् चेतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेर् घृतम् पयो दुदुहे नाहुषाय ॥

7.095.02 Sarasvati_, chief and pure of rivers, flowing from the mountains to the ocean, understood the request of Nahus.a, and distributing riches among the many existing beings, milked for him butter and water. [Milked for him: the legend is that king Nahus.a, before

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performing a sacrifice for a thousand years, prayed to Sarasvati_, who gave him butter and water, or milk, sufficient for that period].

The r.ca 8.64.10 is spoken by a son of Pu_ru. In the next r.ca 8.64.11 his locus is indicated as close to S'aryan.a_vat, Sus.oma_ and A_rji_ki_ya.

अ॒यं ते॒ मानु॑षे॒ जने॒ सोमः॑ पू॒रुषु॑ सूयते ।

तस्येहि॒ प्र द्र॑वा॒ पिब॑ ॥

अ॒यं ते॑ शर्य॒णाव॑ति सु॒षोमा॑या॒म् अधि॑ प्रि॒यः ।

आ॒जी॒कीये॑ म॒दिन्त॑मः ॥

8.064.10 For you is this Soma effused among men by me of mortal race; draw near, hasten, drink it. [Among men: ma_nus.e jane = mayi; purus.u = manus.yesu madhye, puruna_masu ra_jasu].
8.064.11 This is your beloved most exhilarating Soma which grows in the S'aryan.a_vat lake by the Sus.oma_ river in the A_rjiki_ya country. [S'aryan.a_vat lake: cf. RV. 8.7.29 adhi s'ritah = adhi priyah; the lake is in the back part of Kuruks.etra; A_rjiki_ya country: Soma thus grows in a very distant country; A_rjiki_ya = name of the Vipa_s'a (Ya_ska, Nirukta 9.26)]. [Alt. Hillebrandt (vol. 1, pp. 175-183): 'This Soma is dear to you at the S'aryan.a_vat, at the Sus.oma_, but it is the sweetest in the A_rji_ki_ya...In RV 9.65.22 we find a threefold division of para_Vat 'distance', arva_vat 'proximity' and s'aryan.a_vant. This is quite similar to that found in RV 8.13.15 except that in the latter the third unit is samudre instead of s'aryan.a_vati. Corresponding to this three-fold division in RV 9.65.22, we find again three units in RV 9.65.23: 1. a_rji_kes.u, 2. madhye pastya_na_m, 3. janes.u pan~ca_su, so that we come to the conclusion that the second verse is only an elaboration of the first, that is to say, that para_vati, arva_vati, s'aryan.a_vati correspond to a_rji_kes.u, madhy pastya_na_m, janes.u pan~ca_su respectively...The fact that a_rji_ki_ya is mentioned always in combination with the other two words (Sus.oma_, S'aryan.a_vat), or at least with one of them (S'aryan.a_vat), makes it probable that all the three places or regions stood in close relation to each other. It also appears as though they were he sacred places of the Soma cult, at least in the mind of the poets in whose ymns these place-names occur...It is immaterial whether the name a_rji_ka itself is derived from the name of a hill r.ji_ka. Moe important is the fact that in a passage Sa_yan.a refers to this land as situated far off; for this statement is in complete agreement with the fact that in the two parallel verses RV 9.65.22 and 23, a_rji_kes.u of the latter corresponds to para_vati of the former, and thus A_rji_ka must have been a distant and strange land for the singer of this hymn also...At the time of the R.V we find the Pu_rus on the banks of the eastern Sarasvati_, i.e., beyond the domiciles which they had during the historical times. Therefore, it is probable that their settlements extended further towards the west, and we must expect to find their traces in this direction, irrespective of the fact whether they advanced fom the north-west towards Kashmir, or from the west through Taks.as'ila_...(n. 203: ...RV 10.75.5: he vitastaya_ sus.omaya_ ca sahita a_rjikeye...THe last passage is explained in Nirukta 9.26 also, and according to this work, sus.oma_ is supposed to be the Sindhu, a_rji_ki_ya_ the Vipa_s': a_rji_ki_ya_m vipa_d. ity a_hur r.ju_kaprabhava_ varjuga_mini_ va_..pu_rvam asi_d urun~jira_. Durgasim.ha adds his: sa kasma_d? r.ji_kaprabhava_ r.jiko na_ma parvatah

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tasma_t prabhavati. Another comm. says (vol. IV, p.43, note): evam ca a_rji_ki_yeti prathamam na_ma tata urun~jireti tato vi_pa_d. iti lokaprasiddhah; n. 207: JRAS, 1917, p. 98; note on Ra_jataran:gin.i_ V.217. On the other hand, I cannot dismiss the view of a comm., cited in n. 203, that the Vipa_s' was called earlier Urun~Jira_ or Arji_ki_Ya_.) Whether the A_rji_ki_ya_ was one of the rivers of the mountain region itself, which was full of streams, or whether the Indus itself bore this name in its upper course, o it was the upper Vitasta_, or, to follow the statements of Sa_yan.a, it was a part of the Vipa_s' -- these ar questions which I am not in a position to decide. Only this much seems certain: A_rji_ka was in fact the name of a territory or of its inhabitants; this territory was situated between the Indus and the Vitasta_, approximately on latitude 32 degrees N...By placing the A_rji_kas in Kashmir or in its neighbouring regions, we add only one more link to the chain of evidence which shows the importance of this mountain region for the oldest cultural history of the Indian peoples. In his Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir, p. 27, Roth says: 'It is not only the native tradition according to which Kashmir has a very ancient Hindu population, but the assumption becomes self-evident that the Indian tribes in those days when they were settled at the upper Indus and in the land of the five streams, or to put it briefly, in the Vedic period, were also in possession of the territory on the upper course of the Vitasta_, i.e. the valley of Kashmir...'While explaining the word a_rji_ka we have shown that the statements of Sa_Yan.a lead us to the right path. In several passages he explains s'aryan.a_vat so consistently as a 'lake' situated in the hinterland of Kuruks.etra that we have no reason to trust him less in this case...However, I have not been able to ascertain its location. (n. 218: Sa_yan.a on 1.84.14 states that th lake is situated in a country called S'aryan.a_. Lassen, IAK, 2nd ed., I, p.59 mentions Seran in Bissahir). Ludwig's view (Der R.gveda, III, p. 201) that it is the eastern Sarasvati_ has not convinced me...If A_rji_Ka borders on to Kashmir, or extends up to the mountain valleys, and if S'aryan.a_vat is situated nearby, then we may consider a further possibility. THe earlier settlements of the Kuru were situated, as Zimmer has shown, near Kamboja in the territory of Kashmir. (AIL, p. 102)...s'aryan.a_vat would then be the name of one of the lakes of this land, perhaps the name of the biggest among them, of the Walar. Then A_rji_ka belongs to the souther part of Kashmir and S'aryan.a_vat to the middl part. Here I cannot go beyond a mere conjecture. (n. 225: If 9.11 was really the hymn of a Kas'yapa who lived at the lake Saryan.a_vat and invoked Soma to come to him from A_rji_ka_, then this would be one more decisive factor)."]

Sa_yan.a's explanation of Sus.oma_ and Saryan.a_vant:

1.84.14: s'aryan.a_ na_ma des'a_h tes.a_m adu_rabhavam sarah s'aryan.a_vat

8.7.29: sus.ome s'obhanasomayukta a_rjike r.ji_ka_ na_ma des'ah tatsambandhini s'aryan.a_vati kurus.etrasya jaghana_rdh s'aryan.a_vatsam.jn~e sarasi pastya_vati pastyam iti gr.hana_ma...

8.64.1: s'aryan.a_vati kuruks.etrasya jaghana_rdhabhave s'aratr.n.opete sarasi tat sarah kutra vartata 'ty ucyate sus.oma_ya_m etanna_mika_ya_m nadya_m sa_ ca kutra vartate...a_rji_ki_Ya etanna_make des'e evamuktapraka_ren.a_tyantadu_rades'e vartate yah somah sa eva_yam.

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9.65.22: kuruks.etrasya jaghana_rdhe s'aryan.a_vatsam.jn~akam madhurasa yuktam somavat saro 'sti... 23: a_rji_ke.u r.ji_ka_na_m adu_rabhava_ a_rji_ka_ des'a_h tes.u tatha_ kr.tvasu kr.tva_na iti des'a_bhidha_nam...kim ca pastya_na_m sarasvatya_di_na_m nadi_na_m madhye...

9.113.2: r.ji_ka_na_m adu_rabhava a_rji_ko janapadah...yadva_ a_rji_ka_d r.jor akut.ila_t pavitra_t...

10.75.5: he vitastaya_ sus.omaya_ ca sahita a_rji_keye.

Kas'yapa gives the name Ka_s.mi_ra

In RV 7.8.4, 'where a Vasis..ha proclaims the victory o the Bharatas over a Pu_ru. Hence, the Pu_us must have exended their territories upto the Yamuna_ and Parus.n.i_, and seem to have spoken a different dialect than that of the Bharatas. In RV 7.18.13 they are called mr.dhrava_C, which means 'speaking a Barbarian tongue' rather than 'talking disdainfully...The events described in books III and VII which take place mostly farther in the east on the Parus.n.i_, Yamuna_, Vipa_s and S'utudri_ make it improbable that the Sarasvati_ mentionedn in 7.95,96, on the banks of which the Pu_us dwelt, can still be identical with the Arachotos.' (Hillebrandt, vol.1, p. 352).

Nirukta 9.26: Ira_vati_ is called Parus.n.i_, i.e. having joints, (shining), winding...A_rji_ki_ya_ is called Vipa_s', so called becaue it rises in R.ju_ka, or it flows in a straight line. The Vipa_s' is (so called) from bursting forth, or from loosening fetters, or from being extended. It is called fetterless because the fetters of the moribund Vasis.s.t.ha were loosed in it. Formerly it was caled Urun~jira_. Sus.oma_ is the Sindhu, (so called because) rivers flow towards it. Sindhu is (so called) from flowing.

R.s.i is Vasis.t.ha Maitra_varun.i

प्रभप्रायम् अग्निर् भरतस्य शृण्वे वि यत् सूर्यो न रोचते बृहद् भाः ।
अभि यः पूरुम् पृतनासु तस्थौ द्युतानो दैव्यो अतिथिः शुशोच ॥

7.008.04 This Agni is greatly celebrated by the institutor of the rite when he shines resplendent as the sun; he who overcame Puru in battle, and shone glorious as the guest of the gods. [Is greatly celebrated: bharasya s'r.n.ve, yajama_nasya prathito bhavati; or, yajama_nasya a_hva_nam s'r.n.oti, he hears the invocation of the worshipper].

वि सद्यो विश्वा दृंलतहितान्य् एषाम् इन्द्रः पुरः सहसा सप्त दर्दः ।
व्य् आनवस्य तृत्सवे गयम् भाग् जेष्म पूरुं विदथे मृध्रवाचम् ॥

7.018.13 Indra, in his might, quickly demolished all their strongholds, and their seven (kinds of) cities; he has given the dwelling of the son of Anu to Tr.tsu; may we, (by

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propitiating Indra), conquer in battle the ill-speaking man. [Seven kinds of cities: purah sapta, seven cities; nagai_h sapta praka_rah or pra_ka_ra_h, seven-walled; conquer in battle: jes.ma pu_rum manus.yam mr.dhrava_cam, speaking imperfectly or barbarously; or baddhava_cam, whose speech is threatening, obstructing or adverse].

Sa_yan.a interprets 'Puru' as a general reference to a 'man' or 'pu_rave' as an attribute of a person; there is also a play on the lexeme by referring to pu_ravah as 'ancients'; the specific r.cas which may be interpret these two lexemes are as follows:

1. as a person (RV 5.17.1: Pu_ru A_treya; RV 7.19.3: Vasis.t.ha Maitra_varun.i_),
2. ''pu_ru' as 'men' (RV 1.59.6: R.s.i Nodha_s Gautama) (RV 4.21.10; 4.38.1, 3: Va_madeva Gautama; RV
3. 7.5.3, RV 7.96.2, RV 8.64.10: Vasis.t.ha Maitra_varun.i_)(RV 6.20.10; RV 7.8.4; RV 7.18.13: Bharadva_ja
4. Ba_rhaspatya)(RV 10.4.1:Trita A_ptya; RV 10.48.5: Praga_tha Ka_n.va);
5. Purukutsa as a person (perhaps a r.s.i (RV 1.63.7: Nodha_s Gautama); as 'forefathers' (RV 1.129.5:
6. Parucchepa Daivoda_si_;
7. as a reference to a specific Pu_ru, i.e. Divoda_sa (RV 1.130.7: Parucchepa Daivoda_si_).

प्र नू महित्वं वृषभस्य वोचं यम् पूरवो वृत्रहणं सचन्ते । वैश्वानरो दस्युम् अग्निर् जघन्वाꣳ अधूनोत् काष्ठा अव शम्बरम् भेत् ॥

1.059.06 I extol the greatness of that showerer of rain whom men celebrate as the slayer of Vr.tra; the Agni, Vais'va_nara, slew the stealer (of the waters) and sent them down (upon earth), and clove the (obstructing) cloud. [Vais'va_nara = Indra; Vais'va_nara in the hymn is interpreated as the Agni of the firmament, the vidyuta, or lightning; thus Agni is of the middle region, from which when fallen to earth, the terrestrial fire is born, from which rain is generated as the burnt-offering ascends to the sun. Thus rain descends from the sun. Vais'va_nara is, therefore, Agni. Vais'va_nara, in mythology is a Da_nava].

त्वं ह त्यद् इन्द्र सप्त युध्यन् पुरो वज्रिन् पुरुकुत्साय दर्दः । बर्हिर् न यत् सुदासे वृथा वअग् अंहो राजन् वरिवः पूरवे कः ॥

1.063.07 Indra, wielder of the thunderbolt, warring on behalf of Purukutsa, you did overturn the seven cities; you did cut off for Suda_sa wealth of An:has, as if (it had been a tuft) of sacred grass, and did give it to him, O king, ever satiating you (with oblations). [Purukutsa is a r.s.i. Suda_sa is a king. An:as is an asura]. This r.ca is sometimes seen as a reference to Indra rendering help to the Pu_ru through Purukutsa in the battle against the Da_sa.

नेषि णो यथा पुरानेनाः शूर मन्यसे । विश्वानि पूरोर् अप पर्षि वह्निर् आसा वह्निर् नो अच्छ ॥

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1.129.05 Humble the adversary of every one (your worshippers) fierce (Indra), by your aids, like radiant paths, (to glory); by your powerful aids, guide us, hero, as you have guided our forefathers, for you are honoured (by all). You (Indra), who are the sustainer (of the world), remove all (the sins) of man; present at our sacrifice, you are the bearer (of good things).

एवा वस्व इन्द्रः सत्यः सम्राड् ढन्ता वृत्रं वरिवः पूरवे कः । पुरुष्टुत क्रत्वा नः शग्धि रायो भक्षीय ते ऽवसो दैव्यस्य ॥

4.021.10 Thus (glorified), Indra, who is faithful (to his word), the lord of wealth, the slayer of Vr.tra, bestows rihes on man; so you, the praised of many, give us riches for our pious acts, that I may eat of your divine food. [Bestow riches on man: varivah pu_rave kah = manus.ya_ya dhanam karoti; or, it may be a reference to a descendant of Puru].

उतो हि वां दात्रा सन्ति पूर्वा या पूरुभ्यस् त्रसदस्युर् नितोशे । क्षेत्रासां ददथुर् उर्वरासां घनं दस्युभ्यो अभिभूतिम् उग्रम् ॥

4.038.01 Trasadasyu has bestowed upon many the ancient (gifts) which were obtained by the liberal (prince) through your (favour, Heaven and Earth) you two have given a horse, a son, a weapon (for the destruction) of the Dasyus, fierce and foe-subduing. [Heaven and earth: the dual pronoun, va_m, of you two, implies heaven and earth; you two have given a horse, a son: ks.etra_sa_m : from ks.etra, land; urvara_sa_m: urvara, fertile soil; san = to give].

यं सीम् अनु प्रवतेव द्रवन्तं विश्वः पूरुर् मदति हर्षमाणः । पड्भिर् गृध्यन्तम् मेधयुं न शूरं रथतुरं वातम् इव ध्रजन्तम् ॥

4.038.03 Whom all men, rejoicing, praise, rushing everywhere, as if down a precipice, springing with his feet like a hero eager for war, drawing a car, and going as swift as the wind.

महश् चर्कर्म्य् अर्वतः क्रतुप्रा दधिक्राव्णः पुरुवारस्य वृष्णः । यम् पूरुभ्यो दीदिवांसं नाग्निं ददथुर् मित्रावरुणा ततुरिम् ॥

4.039.02 Fulfiller of religious rites, I reiterate the praise of the great Dadhikra_, the liberal, many-honoured showerer (of benefits), whom Mitra and Varun.a gave for the good of many, the transporter (beyond calamity), as brilliant as Agni.

आ यज्ञैर् देव मर्त्य इत्था तव्यांसम् ऊतये । अग्निं कृते स्वध्वरे पूरुर् ईळीतावसे ॥

5.017.01 Divine Agni, a mortal thus with sacrifices (calls upon you) who are endowed with lustre for protection; Puru adores Agni for protection when the sacred rite is solemnized.

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सनेम ते ऽवसा नव्य इन्द्र प्र पूरव स्तवन्त एना यज्ञैः । सप्त यत् पुरः शर्म शारदीर् दर्द्ध१२९४ धन् दासीः पुरुकुत्साय शिक्षन् ॥

6.020.10 (Favoured) by your proection, Indra, we solicit new (wealth); by this adoration men glorify you at sacrifices, for that you have shattered with your bolt the seven cities of S'arat, killing the opponents (of sacred rites), killing the opponents (of sacred rites), and giving (their spoils) to Purukutsa. [Men: puravah = manus.yah; S'arat = name of an asura].

त्वद् भिया विश आयन्न् असिक्नीर् असमना जहतीर् भोजनानि । वैश्वानर पूरवे शोशुचानः पुरो यद् अग्ने दरयन्न् अदीदेः ॥

7.005.03 Through fear of you, Vais'va_nara, the dark-complexioned races, although of many minds, arrived, abandoning their possessions, when, Agni, shining upon Puru, you have blazed, consuming the cities of his foe. [Puru: In RV. 1.63.7, Pu_rave occurs as an epithet of Suda_sa, one who fills or satisfies with offerings.

प्रप्रायम् अग्निर् भरतस्य शृण्वे वि यत् सूर्यो न रोचते बृहद् भाः । अभि यः पूरुम् पृतनासु तस्थौ द्युतानो दैव्यो अतिथिः शुशोच ॥

7.008.04 This Agni is greatly celebrated by the institutor of the rite when he shines resplendent as the sun; he who overcame Puru in battle, and shone glorious as the guest of the gods. [Is greatley celebrated: bharasya s'r.n.ve, yajama_nasya prathito bhavati; or, yajama_nasya a_hva_nam s'r.n.oti, he hears the invocation of the worshipper].

वि सद्यो विश्वा दृंहितान्य् एषाम् इन्द्रः पुरः सहसा सप्त दर्दः । व्य् आनवस्य तृत्सवे गयम् भाग् जेष्म पूरुं विदथे मृध्रवाचम् ॥

7.018.13 Indra, in his might, quickly demolished all their strongholds, and their seven (kinds of) cities; he has given the dwelling of the son of Anu to Tr.tsu; may we, (by propitiating Indra), conquer in battle the ill-speaking man. [Seven kinds of cities: purah sapta, seven cities; nagai_h sapta praka_rah or pra_ka_ra_h, seven-walled; conquer in battle: jes.ma pu_rum manus.yam mr.dhrava_cam, speaking imperfectly or barbarously; or baddhava_cam, whose speech is threatening, obstructing or adverse].

त्वं धृष्णो धृषता वीतहव्यम् प्रावो विश्वाभिर् ऊतिभिः सुदासम् । पौरुकुत्सिं त्रसदस्युम् आवः क्षेत्रसाता वृत्रहत्येषु पूरुम् ॥

7.019.03 Undaunted (Indra), you had protected with all your protections Suda_sa, the offerer of oblations; you have protected in battles with enemies for the possession of the earth Trasadasyu, the son of Purukutsa, and Puru. This is sometimes seen as a reference to Indra aiding the Pu_ru through

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Trasadasyu. In the Indian tradition, Mandha_ta_, Purukutsa and Trasadasyu belong to the Iks.va_ku royalty.

उ॒भे यत् ते॑ महि॒ना शु॑भ्रे॒ अन्ध॑सी अधिक्षि॒यन्ति॑ पू॒रवः॑ । सा नो॑ बोध्य् अवि॒त्री म॒रुत्स॑खा॒ चोद॒ राधो॑ म॒घोना॑म् ॥

7.096.02 Beautiful Sarasvati_, inasmuch as by your might men obtain both kinds of food, do you, our protectress, regard us; do you, the friend of the Maruts, bestow riches upon those who are affluent (in oblations). [Both kinds of food: ubhe andhasi_ = fires celestial and terrestrial; or if the reference is to food: gra_myam a_ran.yam va_, domestic and wild].

अ॒यं ते॒ मानु॑षे॒ जने॒ सोमः॑ पू॒रुषु॑ सूयते । तस्येहि॒ प्र द्र॑वा॒ पिब॑ ॥

8.064.10 For you is this Soma effused among men by me of mortal race; draw near, hasten, drink it. [Among men: ma_nus.e jane = mayi; purus.u = manus.yesu madhye, puruna_masu ra_jasu].

प्र ते॑ यक्षि॒ प्र त॑ इयर्मि॒ मन्म॒ भुवो॒ यथा॒ वन्द्यो॑ नो॒ हवे॑षु । धन्व॑न्न् इव प्र॒पा अ॑सि॒ त्वम् अ॑ग्न इय॒क्षवे॑ पू॒रवे॑ प्रत्न राजन् ॥

10.004.01 To you, Agni, I present the oblation; you repeat praise; that you, who are deserving of laudation may be present at our invocations; ancient sovereign Agni, you are like a well of water in a desert, to the man desirous of offering sacrifice.

अ॒हम् इन्द्रो॒ न परा॑ जिग्य॒ इद् धनं॒ न मृ॒त्यवे ऽव॑ तस्थे॒ कदा॑ च॒न । सोम॒म् इन् मा॑ सु॒न्वन्तो॑ याचता॒ वसु॒ न मे॑ पूरवः स॒ख्ये रि॑षाथन ॥

10.048.05 I, Indra, am not surpassed in affluence; I never yield to death; pouring forth the Soma libation, ask of me wealth; O men, forfeit not my friendship. Even assuming that all these references indicate a person named Pu_ru or a group of people called Pu_ru, the locus is on the banks of the River Sarasvati_. In the r.ca RV 7.96.2, the poet makes an impassioned plea to her: "Beautiful Sarasvati_, inasmuch as by your might men obtain both kinds of food, do you, our protectress, regard us". [Alt. translation by Griffith: 'The Pu_rus dwell, Beauteous One, on thy two grassy banks.'] In RV 8.64.10 the phrase used is: 'ma_nus.e jane somah pu_rus.u' almost equating the term 'men' with the 'pu_ru'.

Agni overcame Pu_ru in battle (V 7.8.4) ; in RV 7.18.13, conquer in battle the ill-speaking man: pu_rum vidathe mr.drava_cam; there are various interpretations of the term, 'mr.drava_cam', for e.g., 'speech that is difficult', 'speech that is unintelligible', 'speaking a barbarian tongue' or 'talking disdainfully'. These two r.cas may be seen as references to Bharata battling the Pu_ru, i.e. an internicine conflict. (Divoda_sa is a Pu_ru in RV 1.130.7). Since the scene of the battle is described as taking place on the banks of the River Parus.n.i_ (River Ravi), there is emphatic evidence in the r.cas of the R.gveda that the Pu_ru and Bharata dwell close to the banks of the River Sarasvati_ as

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the extension of the domain takes the battling groups of people upto the left bank of the River Parus.n.i_.

[See Hillebrandt, vol. 2., pp.352-353: 'The events describedn in books III and VII which take place mostly farther in the east on the Parus.n.i_, Yamuna_, Vipa_s and S'utudri_ make it improbable that the Sarasvati_ mentioned in VIII.95, 96, on the banks of which the Pu_rus dwelt, can still be identical with the Arachotos. Howsoever exuberant the description might appear, there is no other possibility but to locate them on the small river in the Madhyades'a, which was considered sacred in later periods...I do not see why we should not read a tradition which reaches upto the RV into the RV itself or why we should not be permitted to consider a river which is called sacred in the RV and which, according to other indications, conforms to the later Sarasvati_ in its geographical position as really identical with the later Sarasvati_.']

The most emphatic statement in favour of indigenous evolution of cultural tradition of Bha_rata is Pargiter's, made in 1919:

"Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aila or Aryan invasion of India from Afghanistan, nor of any gradual advance from thence eastwards. On the other hand it distinctly asserts that there was an AIla outflow of the Druhyus through the north-west into the countries beyond, where they founded various kingdoms and so introduced their own Indian religion among those nations. (JRAS, 1919, pp. 358-61)....Suda_s's battle with the ten kings had nothing to do with the progress of the Aryans from the north-west into India, for he was an Aila king of north Pa_n~ca_la, and the AIlas (or Aryans) had entered and dominated North India long before his time...Tradition or myth directly indicates that the Ailas (or Aryans) entered India from the mid-Himalayan region, and its attitude towards the NW frontier lends no support to any invasion from that quarter. (The only passages which may lend support to the theory of a north-western invasion are the two in the Ra_ma_yan.a, which make Ila king of Ba_lhi or Ba_lhika, if these words mean Balkh; but they might mean the Va_hli_ka country in the Panjab...(Druhyus are) some 55 steps earlier than the Bha_rata battle...Vedic literature says, I believe, nothing about the entrance of the Aryans from the north-west into India. If one starts with that view, arguments for it may no doubt be discovered in the Rigveda; but if one puts aside all preconceived ideas and examines the hymns in the light of historical tradition, nothing will, I think, be found in them really incompatible with traditional history, and a great deal is elucidated thereby. Moreover, tradition explains why the sacred land of the Aryans was the region north of the mid-Himalayas -- a fact which the prevalent view does not account for; and the connexion of Persia with India does not prove that the Aryans entered India from that direction, for it may find a quite possible explanation reversely in the outflow of Druhyus as just shown. (Pargiter, pp.298- 302).

> "Not only do the Puranas give the earlier history of Vedic Aryans (i.e. the Purus), who were the authors of the Rigveda, showing them to have originated in south eastern Uttar Pradesh before their ancestors went and settled down in the Punjab; but they also name two other groups of Indo Europeans (the Anus and the Druhyus), with a similar origin in south eastern Uttar Pradesh, and show them to have settled down in areas to the north and northwest of the Vedic Aryans, and even specifically record their migration northwords and away from these areas. The Rigveda, in its Dasarajna hymns, names the historically closest five branches of the present day Indo European languages as having been branches of the Anus and Druhyus, while its mythology proves to be practically identical with the parent mythology of all the later branch mythologies...Among the speakers of Indo European languages, a great historical occurence took place when a major part of the Indo Europeans of south eastern Uttar pradesh migrated to the west and settled down in the northwestern areas Punjab, Kashmir and the further north west, where they differentiated into three groups: the Purus (in the punjab), the Anus (in Kashmir)

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and the Druhyus (in northwestern and Afghanistan). Meanwhile, there remained various Indo Europeans still in the interior of India: the Yadus in northern Maharashtra, Gujarat and Western UP; Iksvakus in northeastern UP (and perhaps also in Dakshina Kosala in eastern MP); and Pramsus in Bihar, to name only those of them clearly mentined and described in the Puranas...Meanwhile, major sections of Anus spread out all over Western Asia and developed into the various Iranian cultures. The Druhyus spread out into Europe in two instalments: the speakers of the proto Germanic dialect first migrated northwards and then westwards, and then later the speakers of the protoHellenic and proto Italo Celtic dialects moved into Europe by a different, more southern, route.

“It is possible that the speakers of proto Baltic and proto Slavonic (or proto Balto Slavonic) (who left earlier, perhaps in the first wave of migration alongwith the speakers of proto Germanic), and the speakers of proto Illyrian and proto Thraco Phrygian (who left later alongwith the later Druhyu groups and the Iranians) were Anus and not Druyus the Anus and Druhyus thus being, respectively, the speakers of proto Saten and proto Kentum.

”The Indus Valley culture was a mixed culture of Purus and Anus; the Hittites and the Tocharians were probably different mixed groups of Purus, Anus and Druhyus. The Mitanni and Kassites were certainly groups of Vedic Purus."
http://www.hindunet.org/hindu_history/ancient/indus/indus_civ.html Talageri Srikant, *The Aryan Invasion Theory and Indian Nationalism*, Chapter 23, Voice of India Publications, 1993.

सनेम ते ऽवसा नव्यं इन्द्र प्र पूरवं स्तवन्त एना यज्ञैः ।

सप्त यत् पुरः शर्म शारदीर् दद्गइ१२९ष धन् दासीः पुरुकुत्साय शिक्षन्॥

त्वं वृध इन्द्र पूर्व्यो भूर वरिवस्यन्न् उशने काव्याय ।

परा नववास्त्वम् अनुदेयम् महे पित्रे ददाथ स्वं नपातम् ॥

6.020.10 (Favoured) by your proection, Indra, we solicit new (wealth); by this adoration men glorify you at sacrifices, for that you have shattered with your bolt the seven cities of S'arat, killing the opponents (of sacred rites), killing the opponents (of sacred rites), and giving (their spoils) to Purukutsa. [Men: puravah = manus.yah; S'arat = name of an asura].

6.020.11 Desirous of opulence, you, Indra, have been an ancient benefactor of Us'anas, the son of Kavi; having slain Navava_stva, you have given back his own grandson, who was (fit) to be restored o the grandfather.

A r.ca 7.33.6 referring to Bharatas is cited hereunder; how can a judgement be made that 'there was an incursion of the Bharata into the Punjab across the Sindhu?"

दुण्डा इवेद् गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः ।

अभवच् च पुरता वसिष्ठ आद् इत् तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त ॥

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7.033.06 The Bharatas, inferior (to their foes), were shorn (of their possessions), like he staves for driving cattle, (stripped of their leaves and branches); but Vasis.t.ha became their family priest, and the people of the Tr.tsus prospered. [People of the Tr.tsus: Tr.tsus are the same as the Bharatas. Sam.varan.a, the son of R.ks.a, the fourth in descent from Bharata, the son of Dus.yanta, was driven from his kingdom by the Pa_n~ca_las, and obliged to take refuge with his tribe among the thickets on the Sindhu until Vasis.t.ha came to them and consented to be the ra_ja_'s purohit, when they recovered their territory].

> [In the Indian tradition, Bharata's territory stretched from the River Sarasvati_ to the Ganga (MBh 7,68,2384; 12,29,939; cf. Pargiter, p. 273].

Kas'yapa, the eminent r.s.is who adore Soma Pavama_na lived in Kashmir

Hiran.yakes'in (Hiran.ya Kes'i_ya Gr.hya Su_tra I, 22, 14 ff.) notes that the naks.atras, the moon, the seven r.s.is with Arundhati_ and the Pole Star (naks.atra_na_m methi_) should be worshipped at the first installation of fire in the domestic hearth. In 2.19.1 Hiran.yakes'in lists the seven r.s.is, apart from Agastya: Vis'va_mitra, Jamadagni,

Bharadva_ja, Gautama, Atri, Vasis.t.ha and Kas'yapa. Arundhati_ stands between Vasis.t.ha and Kas'yapa.

In Indian tradition, Kas'yapa are associated with Kashmir (Kas'yapa-mi_ra).

The Kas'yapa have over 70% of their r.cas dedicated to Soma Pavama_na. A_pS'S (13.7.5) prohibits th giving of daks.in.a_ to a Kan.va or to a Ka_s'yapa (and reason is not adduced). This is an indication of the incipient dissensions between Kan.va and Ka_s'ypa r.s.i lineage and the lineage of other r.s.is.

The only a_pri_ su_kta for Soma is composed by r.s.i Asita Ka_s'yapa or Devala Ka_s'yapa. [The other nine a_pri_ su_ktas are dedicated to Agni].

R.si. families of the Rigveda and their A_pri_ Su_kta

Kan.va (Kevala-An:girasa) RV 1.13

An:girasa RV 1.142

Agastya RV 1.188

Gr.tsamada (Kevala-Bhr.gu) RV 2.3

Vis'va_mitra RV 3.4

Atri RV 5.3

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Vasis.t.ha RV 7.2

Kas'yapa RV 9.5

Bharata RV 10.70

Bhr.gu RV 10.110

The earliest Ka_s'ypa is Ka_s'yapa Ma_ri_ca who offers oblations of Soma to Ja_tavedas:

जातवेदसे सुनवाम सोमम् अरातीयतो नि दहाति वेदः । स नः पर्षद् अति दुर्गाणि विश्वा नावेव सिन्धुं दुरितात्य् अग्निः ॥

1.099.01 (R.s.i: Ka_s'yapa Ma_ri_ca) We offer oblations of Soma to Ja_tavedas, may he consume the wealth of those who feel enmity against us; may he transport us over all difficulties; may Agni convey us, as in a boat over a river, across all wickedness.

The following r.cas adoring Soma Pavama_na re also composed by r.s.i Ka_s'yapa Ma_ri_ca:

शर्यणावति सोमम् इन्द्रः पिबतु वृत्रहा । बलं दधान आत्मनि करिष्यन् वीर्यम् महद् इन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव ॥ आ पवस्व दिशाम् पत आर्जीकात् सोम मीढ्वः । ऋतवाकेन सत्येन श्रद्धया तपसा सुत इन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव ॥

9.113.01 Let Indra, the slayer of Vr.tra, quaff the Soma on the S'aryan.a_vat, infusing strength into himself, about to show great prowess; flow, Indu, for Indra. [S'aran.ya_vat: a lake in the Kuruks.etra region].

9.113.02 Soma, lord of the four regions, sprinkler (of benefits) flow from A_rjika_ effused by a truth-speaking truthful (man) with faith and devotion; flow, Indu, for Indra. [A_rjika_; the country of ther.jika_s].

The reference to S'aryan.a_vat by Ka_s'ypa Ma_ri_ca is significant. A Kan.va called Vatsa also lives on the S'aryan.a_vat:

मन्दस्वा सु स्वर्णर उतेन्द्र शर्यणावति । मत्स्वा विवस्वतो मती ॥

8.006.39 (R.s.i: Vatsa Ka_n.va) Rejoice, Indra, at the heaven-guiding sacrifice as S'aryan.a_vat; be exhilarated by the praise of the worshipper. [Heaven-guiding: or, to be offered by all the priests,svarn.are = sarvair r.tvigbhir netavye; S'aryan.a_vat: the country of Kuruks.etra and S'aryan.a_vat is a lake in the neighbourhood].

सुषोमे शर्यणावत्य् आर्जीके पस्त्यावति । ययुर् निचक्रया नरः ॥

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8.007.29 (R.s.i: Punarvatsa Ka_n.va) The leaders of rites have proceeded with downward chariot-wheels to the R.ji_ka (A_rji_ka) country, where lies the S'aryan.a_vat, abounding in dwellings, and wherem Soma isplentiful.

Soma comes from both A_rji_ka and S'aryan.a_vat (RV 8.64).

Hillebrandt notes (vol. 1, p. 182):"...we may assume that the s'aryan.a_vat is situated in the land of the pan~ca jana_h, that the Pu_rus were settled in A_rji_ka not far from it, and that a Jamadagni lived quite far form it. [How to reconcile this with 8.7.29 is not certain. The poet, a Kan.va as is evident from vv. 18,19,32, asks: "The Maruts have come down at Sus.oma, Saryan.a_vat, A_rji_ka and Pastya_vat. When will they approach here the singer who invokes them?" THus it could appear as if the poet did not live at any of these four places, but it is not certain. For he could equally be a priest who offered sacrifices at different places, and thus he could ask: "At such and such a place you (pl.) have heard my call; when will you come this time?"] Sa_yan.a sates hat the lake is situated in the hinterland of Kuruks.etra. If A_rji_ka borders on to Kashmir, or extends up to the mountain valleys, and if S'aryan.a_vat is situated nearby, then we may consider another possibility. The earlier settlements of the Kurus were situated, as Zimmer has shown, near Kamboja in the territory of Kashmir. (H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 102). Should it not be the case that an old name from those settlements is preserved in the world s'aran.a_vat, which, limited only to a few passages, occurs in formula-like associations only, and which has already assumed a mythical character in another passage (1.84.14)? If that were the case, s'aryan.a_vat would then be the name of one of the lakes of this land, perhaps the name of the biggest among them, of the Walar. Then A_rji_ka belongs to the southern part of Kashmir and S'aryan.a_vat to the middle part. Here I cannot go beyond a mere conjecture."

S'aryan.a_vat is indeed the root compound from which the term 'Haryana' is derived and given to the State south of the Punjab. The offspring of the waters are noted as: Agni, Kas'yapa and Indra (TS5.6.1a).

The r.s.i of r.ca RV 9.58.3 is Avatsa_ra Ka_s'yapa, a descendant of Kas'yapa Ma_ri_ca (RV 1.99.1; the only hymn in the su_kta); the r.s.i Avatsa_ra Ka_s'yapa is also the composer of RV 5.44.1-9. Another descendant of Ka_s'yapa Ma_ri_ca is Rebha Ka_s'yapa (RV 8.97).

Kas'yapa were the priests of Pu_ru kings Dhvasra and Purus.anti.

ध्वस्रयोः पुरुषन्त्योर् आ सहस्राणि दद्महे । तरत् स मन्दी धावति ॥

9.058.03 We have received thousands from Dhvasra and Purus.anti; he the delighted (of the gods) flows rescuing (his worshippers from sin). [Dhvasra and Purus.anti: two kings who conferred great wealth on Taranta and Purumil.ha, to r.s.is of the family of Vidadas'vin].

स हि क्षत्रस्य मनसस्य चित्तिभिर् एवावदस्य यजतस्य सध्रेः । अवत्सारस्य स्पृणवाम रण्वभिः शविष्ठं वाजं विदुषा चिद् अर्ध्यम् ॥

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5.044.10 (R.s.i: Avatsa_ra Ka_s'yapa) He verily (it to be glorified); let us, with the pleasant thoughts of Ks.atra, Manasa, Avada, Vajada, Sadhri and Avatsa_ra, fill up the invigorating food (the portion) to be shared by the wise. [ks.atra, manasa...: these are the names of the r.s.is].

> "The earliest time at which a Kas'yapa is mentioned is that of Ra_ma Ja_madagnya, who, according to brahmani fable, offered a great sacrifice with Kas'yapa as his upa_dhya_ya. The next Kas'yapa is Kan.va Ka_s'yapa, in whose hermitage Sakuntala_ dwelt. She married the Paurava king Dus.yana and was mother of the famous king Bharata.'Kan.va' is said to have been the chief priest at Bharata's sacrifices, and Bharata gave him gifts...The next Ka_s'yapa was the progenitor of the S'a_n.d.ilyas...The next Ka_s'yapa was Vibha_n.d.aka, who had his hermitage on the River Kaus'iki_ (the modern Kosi in N. Bihar). His son was the rishi R.s.yas'r.n:ga, whom Lomapa_da, king of An:ga, in whose territory they lived, inveigled to his capital to bring rain after a long drrought..." (F.E. Pargiter, 1962 (repr. of 1922 London edn.), Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 232-233).

Bhr.gu were in Kapa_lamocana on the Sarasvati_ and in A_narta, Gujarat

"The brahman families claimed descent from mythical rishis, of whom there were eight, Bhr.gu, An:giras, Mari_ci_ (whose son was Kas'yapa), Atri, Vasis.t.ha, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu...The acount says Bhr.gu begot seven sons, An:giras eight and Kavi eight...it is said, 'Four original families (mu_la-gotra) came into existence, An:girras, Kas'yapa, Vasis.t.ha and Bhr.gu...' (MBh 12,28, 10877-8)...Among the Bha_rgavas Bhr.gu and Kavi are purely mythical, but as regards Us'anas-S'ukra, who is called their son, it must be noted that Us'anas and S'ukra were names of the planet Venus also, and the two must be distinguished. The rishi always appears as th great priest of the Daityas and Da_navas and as the antagonist of the second Br.haspati with the same chronological position...there is no mention of any rishi called Kas'yapa until Ra_ma Ja_madagnya's time...The vams'a of the Bha_rgavas is set out in Va_yu 65, 72-96, Brahma_n.d.a 3.1.73-100 and Matsya 195.11-46...Maha_bha_rata account says (1.66.2605-13) Bhr.gu had two sons, S'ukra-Kavi-Graha who was guru of the Daityas and gods (sura), and Cyavana; Cyavana married Manu's daughter A_rus.i_ and had a son Aurva: Aurva's on was R.ci_ka, who had a hundred sons, the eldest of whom was Jamadagni...

"Cyavana's family and Us'anas-S'ukra's family appear to have occupied different regions. Cyavana is always onnected with the west of India, the country around the Gulf of Cambay, in or near S'arya_ti's territory A_narta Gujarat) as shown by the story of his marrying Sukanya_, and by the statement that he perormed austerities near the Vaidu_rya Mts (the west portion of the Satpura range) and the River Narmada_. Us'anas-S'ukra is connected rather with the central region of N. India, for Yaya_ti king of Pratis.t.ha_na (Allahabad) met his daughter Devaya_ni_ near his own territory and married her; and Kapa_lamocana on the Sarasvati_ is called his ti_rtha. Cyavana's descendants remained connected with west India, and when the Haihayas dominated that region and the S'a_rya_ta kingdom perished, they became associated with the Haihayas. It is they who produced the great Bha_rgava family..."(F.E. Pargiter, 1962 (repr. of 1922 London edn.), *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 185-190).

"The Post-Rigvedic situation...The extent of their domination is almost incredible, and i starts with a near monopoly over the Vedic literature itself: the only recension of the RIgveda that is extant today is a Bhr.gu recension (S'a_kala); one (the more important one) of the two extant recentions of the Atharvaveda is a Bhr.gu recension (S'aunaka); one (and the most important one) of the three extant recensions of the Sa_maveda is a Bhr.gu recension (Jaimini_ya); and one (and the most important one among the four Kr.s.n.a or Black recensions) of the six extant recensions of the Yajurveda is a Bhr.gu recension (Taittiri_ya)...the author of the Ra_ma_yan.a is a Bhr. gu (Va_lmi_ki). The author of the

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Maha_bha_rata, Vya_sa, is not a Bhr.gu (he is a Vasis.t.ha), but his primary disciple Vais'ampa_yana, to whom Vya_sa recounts the entire epic, and who is then said to have related it at Janamejaya's sacrifice, whence it was recorded for posterity, is a Bhr.gu...In the Pura_n.as, the only R.s.i to be accorded the highest dignity that Hindu mythology can give any person -- the status of being recognised as an avata_ra of Vis.n.u -- is a Bhr.gu (Paras'u-Ra_ma, son of Jamadagni)...in the Bhagavadgi_ta_, Krishna proclaims: 'Among the Great R.s.is, I am Bhr.gu; and among words I am the sacred syllable OM...' (Bhagavadgi_ta_, 10.25)." (Shrikant G. Talageri, 2000, *The Rigveda: A historical Analysis*, Delhi, Aditya Prakashan, pp. 174-175).

"...Bhr.gu, the progenitor of this clan, traces himself back to Varun.a: the statement, bhr.gur vai va_run.ih, is well known to the Veda. (S'Br 11.6.1.1; TA_r 9.1.1.6; Abr 3.34.1: yad dviti_yam [praja_pate retasa_] a_sit tad bhr.gur abhavat, tam varun.o nagr.hn.i_ta tasma_t sa bhr.gur va_run.ih)...They kindle Agni with Stomas 10.122.5; 1.127.7...Other R.gvedic passages...7.18.6, where the Bhr.gus and the Druhyus are mentioned as the obedient clans, and 8.3.9; 6.18, where they, or other prognitor Bhr.gu, and the Yatis are losely onnection, and mentioned as the worshippers of Indra...The earlier attempts to onnect them with Gr. phlegyes seem to be justified...They defeat Makha (9.101.3) [In 4.16.20 (also 10.39.14) they are praised as master chariot-makers. This seems to be an instance of confusion between the Bhr.gus and the R.bhus, as the PW remarks], are called dhi_ra (10.46.2), somya (10.14.6), and mentioned together with Apnava_na (4.7.1), with the An:girah Pitarah, Navagvas and Atharvans (10.14.6) and parallel to different gods (8.35.3)...They are seers of the Sa_mans, but not so often as the An:giras' (TMBr 14.3.23; 9.39; cf. RV 8.3.16 stomebhih; 6.18: tus.t.uvuh)...a Cyavana Bha_Rgava who consecrates S'a_rya_Ta Ma_nava (ABr 8.21.4), a 'Bhr.gu' who is killed by te Sr.n~jaya Vaitahavyas (AV 5.19.1) and Vidanvat (TMBr 13.11.10)...They are to act as the Hotr. in the Das'apeyakratu(TS 1.8.18; TBr 1.8.2.5; TMBr 18.9.2; S'S'S 15.12.2)-- an allusion to the existence of a particular gotra...

"The legend according to which the Bhr.gus and the A_dityas originate from the flames, whereas the An:giras' from the coals of the semen of Praja_pati, insignificat in itself, still shows the difference between the Bhr.gus and the An:giras' (GBr 1.2.8 is rather obscure because of the corrupt text). [Alfred Hillebrandt, *Vedic Mythology*, 1981, vol.1 (repr.), pp. 115-118].

An:giras

"The earliest rishi who is called an An:giras is the priest Br.haspati who supported the gods (devas) in their war against the Daityas, Da_navas and Asuras...The earlist time at which a real A_n:girasa rishi is alleged to have existed was in the reign o Haris'candra of Ayodhya_, when Aji_garta sold his son S'unahs'epa as a sacrificial victim instead of Rohita, and Aya_sya officiated as a priest at the ceremony...Among the A_n:girasas were the Ka_n.vas,and they are an offshoot from the Paurava line...A Kan.va is mentioned in Dus.yanta's time. He adopted S'akuntala_,

and Dus.yanta met her in his hermitage and married her, but this Kan.va is expressly called a Ka_s'yapa...Praga_tha Ka_n.va was contemporary with Durgaha's grandsons...Pr.s.adhra Ka_n.va was contemporary with Dasyavevr.ka...It is clear that the Ka_n.vas sprang from Ajami_d.ha...The Ka_n.vas thus belonged to the period of the N. Pan~ca_la dynasty...(F.E. Pargiter, 1962 (repr. of 1922 London edn.), *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 218-228).

"In all, the Anukraman.ika_ shows about 45 different names of men who call themselves after this (An:giras') gotra. (Weber, 'Episches im Vedaritual," SBKPAW, 1891, p. 812 (46); cf. Bloomfield, SBE, XLII, p. xxv). Many of these names are fictitious or mythical, but it would not be corret to banish all of them into the realm of fantasy. We know that Va_madeva, the Kan.vas, the Pajras etc. and also the

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Maudgalyas counted themselves among the An:giras'. We also know that Bergaigne speaks 'of a primitive liturgy common to the whole family of the An:giras'." (Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Literatur Vedique, p. 192, n.1). An:giraso occurs together with Vessa_mitto, Yamataggi, Bha_radva_jo (Vinaya Pit.aka, vol. I, p. 245). Buddha (as Gautama) is called an An:giraso (ibid., vol. I, p. 25) (cf. JPTS, 1888, pp. 1-2. In RV 1.78.3 a Gotama invokes an:girasvat). Gr.tsamada S'aunaka was once an A_n:girasa S'aunahotra and thence became a Bha_rgava S'aunaka; that is to say, he changed his family just as S'unahs'epa changed his from the clan of the An:giras', to which the gruesome Ajigarta Sauyavasi belonged, to the clan of Vis'va_mitra Bha_Rata. Br.hatsa_man who was pierced by men was an A_n:girasa (AV 5.19.1). Sam.varta A_n:girasa consecrates Marutta A_viks.ita during the Ra_jasu_ya (ABr 8.21.12). Following the example of Hiran.yastu_pa A_n:girasa, the poet of 10.149.5 invoked the god Savitr...The An:giras' are known already to the RV as Sa_ma singers. According to 10.108.8, they belong to the r.s.ayah somas'ita_h. 1.107.2: an:girasa_m sa_mabhih stu_yama_na_h; 10.78.5: vis'varu_pa_ an:giraso na sa_mabhih. Long ago they discovered the cattle with a_n:gu_s.ya sa_man 1.62.2. They took part in breaking open the rock or cowshed and were Indra's assistants 1.51.3; 62.3; 71.2; 132.4; 2.11.20; 20.5; 4.2.15; 16.8; 51.4; 5.45.8; 6.17.6; 18.5 etc. (A Sa_man called an:girasa_m gos.t.ha is known to TMBr 13.9.24). While referring to them, Vedic terminology uses, apart from sa_man, the ouns ucatha 2.20.5; gir 1.121.1; arka, brahman 6.65.5; rava 1.71.2...The later tradition is in complete agreement with the RV. Like the An:giras' of the past, their descendants also sing... "In TMBr 14.3.32, Aya_sya deprives the A_dityas of their food by eating it and saves himself with Sa_mans; in 16.12.4 as Udga_Tr. he holds sway over the A_dityas and on the day of the Adyasutya when he receives the white solar horse as remuneration for the sacrifice, he becomes weak and saves himself with specific Sa_mans. According to the Anukraman.i_ also Aya_sya is considered the author of RV 9.44-46 and 10.67-68. The last two hymns are dedicated to Br.haspati and at the same time praise the An:giras' who assist Br.haspati. Aya_sya is mentioned in the RV itself: 1.62.7 (?); 10.67.1; 108.8 (where he is mentioned with the An:giras' and the Navagvas); he is one of the mythical progenitors of the An:giras clan...

"We have mentioned earlier the formula with which the Purod.a_s'a cakes are placed: bhr.gu_n.a_m an:girasa_m tapasa_ tapyadhvam. It is said in the RV tha they observe tapas and thus create the cattle (RV 10.169.2; TS 7.4.17b)...The 'cow' which they own according to TBr 2.1.1.1 is another motif from the treasure of theis sagas. It is said in RV 1.139.7 that the gods presented this cow to them...A special saga, typical of the An:giras', seems to have been connected with the Agniciti, which is closely linked with the An:giras ritual. As an explanation why the tortoise is embedded in the altar, TS 5.2.8.4 says: **an:girasah suvargam lokam yatah purod.a_s'ah ku_rmo bhu_tva_nupra_sarpat**... "Often there is an antagonism or a rivalry between the A_dityas and the An:giras'. While A_ditya Bhr.gu and the A_dityas rise out of the flames of the semen of Praja_pati, the An:giras' come out of the 'coals' (probably a fanciful etymology based on the consonance between an:giras and an:ga_ra) and out of the rekindled 'coals' comes Br.haspati. (ABr. 3.34; Bibliotheca Indica ed.. II, p. 156)....To sum up, An:giras is the name of an ancient family (clan) which had particular traditions in cult and in myth...[Alfred Hillebrandt, *Vedic Mythology*, 1981, vol.1 (repr.), pp. 108-115].

Atharvan: **Dadhyan~c is a sage, a son of Atharvan:**

इन्द्रो॑ दधी॒चो अ॒स्थभि॑र् वृ॒त्राण्य् अप्र॑तिष्कुतः । ज॒घान॑ नव॒तीर् नव॑ ॥

1.084.13 Indra, with the bones of Dadhi_ci, slew ninety times nine Vr.tras. [Dadhyan~c = Dadhi_ca and Dadhi_ci, a sage. His bones formed the thunderbolt of Indra. dadhyan~c, son of Atharvan, like the asuras, was intimidated and tranquilized by his appearance; but, when he went to svarga, the asuras overspread the whole earth. Indra, inquiring what had become of him and if something of

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him was left behind, was told that the horse's head with which he had at one time taught the madhuvidya_ to the as'vins, was somewhere in existence, but no one knew where. After a search, it was found in the lake S'aryan.a_vat, near Kuruks.etra. With the bones of the skull, Indra slew the asuras (i.e. foiled the nine times ninety or eight hundred and ten, strategems or devices of the asuras or Vr.tras]. The number is accounted for by the legend that in the beginning, the a_suri_ ma_ya_ (demoniac illusion) was practised in the three worlds, for three periods (past, present, and future), thus becoming nine-fold; each was exerted with three s'aktis or energies, thus becoming twenty seven; each was again modified by the three gun.as, thus becoming eighty-one; the scene of their display extended to each of the ten regions of space, thus becoming the nine times ninety of the text, or 810].

"Besides the Bhr.gus and the An:giras', the Atharvans are also mentioned in the hymn to the dead, RV 10.14.6 (Bhr.gus and Atharvan together in RV 10.92.10)...we have to depend on Avesta which knows Atharvan as an agent noun only, viz., as a designation of priests. We can conclude from this that the word was once an appellative in the Veda also, and was, to a certain degree, the precursor of the later designation Agnihotrin. It occurs in the RV only 15 times (Fourteen times if we do not count atharvi_) in 14 (13) hymns...In AV 4.1.7; 7.2.1 he is the pitr. devabandhu...Atharvan and Fire...does not occur often enough so that we can ascribe a particularly prominent share in the fire cult to the Vedic Atharvans. 6.16.13: tvam agne pus.kara_d adhi atharva_ nir amanthata... 6.16.14: tam u tva_ dadhyan:n: r.s.ih putra i_dhe atharvan.ah (cf. also S'Br 6.4.2.3)...In very general terms 1.83.5; 10.92.10; AV 19.4.1 speak of Atharvan mythically as the first sacrificer. Cf. also 1.80.16 where 'Atharvan, Manus.pitr., Dadhyan~c' spread the dhi_. In AV 10.10.12, 17 Atharvan sits consecrated on a golden sacrificial bed of straw...Varun.a who presents 'the cow' to Atharvan (AV 7.104; 5.11.1) is also regarded as his father...The Atharvans use honey as a cult object. RV 9.11.2: abhi te madhuna_ payo' tharva_n.o as'is'rayuh. Dadhyan~c who is a R.s.i and a son of Atharvan -- one of the few names that occur-informs the As'vins where madhu may be found with Tvas.t.r. (RV 1.117.22) etc. (RV 8.9.7; AV 10.10.12; AV 18.3.54; TA_r 2.10)...The Atharvans receive chariots, horses and cattle as sacrificial gifts from As'vatha (RV 6.47.24)...The Atharvans, Kas'yapa, Kan.va etc., drive away the Raks.as' with a plant (AV 4.37.1). The plants are a_tharvan.i_r a_n:girasi_r daivi_r manus.yaja_ uta (AV 11.4.16)...if we adhere to the view that the word Atharvan is an appellative name of certain priests, then it would seem to follow that Bhr.gu is the name of a clan and Atharvan the designation of its priests. This is nothing but a hypothesis. But in Ma_ntrika Upanis.ad 10 (ed. Bombay, p. 324b) there is a statement, to which I attach a slightly greater importance than Bloomfield does: pat.hanti bhargava_ hy ete hy atharva_n.o bhr.gu_ttama_h...Gopaha Bra_hman.a 1.2.22...does not support my hypothesis. (atharva_n.as' ca ha va_ a_(a)n:girasas' ca bhr.gucaks.us.i_." [Alfred Hillebrandt, *Vedic Mythology*, 1981, vol.1 (repr.), pp. 118-120].

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Vra_tya and building a ra_s.t.ra

Veda-s underscore the rise of settlements, integration into a community, of all peoples, *vis'ah* (AV 3.4.2: **tva_m vis'ovr.n.ata_m ra_jya_ya**; AV 3.4.6: *vis'* elect a king). The *vis'*, the people, build the ra_s.t.ra, the nation. The term used by Vis'va_mitra, *bha_ratam janam,* could also be interpreted to mean: *bha_rata ra_s.t.ra*, the nation of Bharat.

Vrata is an integral part of the Vedic cultural tradition, exemplified by the Maha_vrata performed during the *gava_mayana sattra*; the s'astra (for e.g., a_jya prauga) of the Maha_vrata are taken from Vis'vajit, the 'conquering of the regions', an allegory or metaphor related to emerging socio-political organization of communities.

Vra_tya and Yajn~ika heritage

Atharvaveda (15.1.1: **vra_tya a_sa_ndi_yama_na eva sa praja_pati samairavat**) notes the vra_tya as benefactors of human society or as one who does good to a large number of people. AV (15.10, 11) adds: 'So let the king, to whose house the Vra_tya (Pravrajaka), who possesses the knowledge (of Cosmic Order), comes as a guest, honour him as superior to himself. *So he doth not act against the interests of his princely rank or his kingdom*...Thence arose sanctity.' AV 15.12 enjoins that without the permission of the vra_tya, the bra_hman.a should not sacrifice. (cf. J.C. Heesterman, Vratya and sacrifice, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 6 (1962), pp. 1-37).

Juxtaposed to the atharva veda (15-11) which notes that anyone who entertains a vra_tya will gain the road that gods travels, the later-day tradition uses the term, vra_tya to connote specific vocations within the tradition of a_gamas.

Taittiri_ya Samhita contains the followintg text which equates the vra_tya with bra_hman.a and ks.attriya:

> "He (the Vra_tya) became filled with passions, thence sprang the Ra_janya.
>
> "Let the king to whose house the vra_tya who knows this, comes as a guest, cause him to be respected as superior to himself. So doing he does no injury to his royal rank, or to his realm. From him arose the Brahman (Bra_hman.a) and the ks.attra (Ks.atriya). They said, 'Into whom shall we enter…'

Thus, the highest Brahman is conceived and exalted as the Vra_tya. The earthly Vra_tyas were roaming about in rough wagons covered with boards in a war-like fashion, owners of cattle, and perhaps the earliest worshippers of Rudra-S'iva. In the opinion of J.W. Haver, vra_tya were the ecstatics of the ks.atriya and the fore-runners of the later-day Yogin-s. They were clearly ascetics in the early evolution of Hindu Dharma. (cf. Basham, p. 243). They were observers of vrata-s (vows and austerities) and could be re-admitted to perform yajn~a-s after performing vratyastoma. One of the groups of vra_tya was known as Arhanta. Some were worshippers of Lin:ga. Atharvaveda offers a prayer to Eka-vra_tya Rudra. Austerities combined with vows and non-violence resulted in a social structure founded on co-operative activities among the pan~ca-jana, the five peoples, i.e. all the peoples of the land of Bharat. Another group of people who moved from place to place were

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vr.s'ala. The interactions among the yajn~ika, vra_tya and vr.s'ala resulted in the emergence of the mosaic of Bharatiya culture. The historical traditions exemplified by Mahavira and the Buddha (also known as vr.s'alaka) and the tradition of the ascetics -- '*muni*' and '*arhat*' (words also mentioned in the Kesi-su_kta of the R.gveda), attest to the diverse ways of people in understanding the *r.ta*, the cosmic rhythm.

In the *Pras'nopanis.ad*, the vra_tya is adored as the Pra_n.a, the life-force itself; **vra_tyatvam pra_naikars.iratta_** (2.11); the interpretation is: "pra_n.a is vra_tya: one born first, and so not needing purification..." Sukes'a, son of Bharadva_ja gets this answer to his second question from the venerable Pippala_da.

> 8. You are the best carrier for the divinities, you are the first offering to the Pitr.s (ancestors). You are the true work of the R.s.i-s, of the Atharva_n:giras.
>
> 9. O Pra_n.a, you are Indra by your light, you are Rudra, as a protector; you move in the sky, you are the Sun, the lord of lights.
>
> 10. When you shower down rain, then, O Pra_n.a, these creatures of yours are delighted, hoping that there will be food, as much as they desire.
>
> 11. You are a Vra_tya, O Pra_n.a, the only R.s.i (or, **ekars.i** fire), the consumer of everything, the good lord. We are the givers of what you have to consume, you, O Ma_taris'va, are our Pitr.
>
> 12. Make propitious the body of yours which dwells in speech, in the ear, in the eye, and which pervades the mind; do not go away!
>
> 13. All this is in the power of Pra_n.a, whatever exists in the three heavens. Protect us like a mother her sons. (*Pras'nopanis.ad*, 1st Question).

Atharvaveda describes the Vra_tya as the cosmic being:

> "The right eye (of the Vra_tya) is the shining Sun, the left eye is bliss-giving Moon.
>
> "The right ear is all-pervading Agni, the left ear Va_yu.
>
> "The two nostrils are day and night; and
>
> "The two parts of the skull are Diti (impermanent creation) and Aditi (permanent cosmic substance); and
>
> "The head is the sense of Time." (AV 15.18.1-5).

Thus, from Vrata (Cosmic order), comes Vra_tya (Cosmic Being); a person as the vratastha is the one who follows the cosmic order.

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That the Vra_tya-s were part of the pan~cajana (five peoples) is apparent from the following catalogue of people from various regions of Bharat, mentioned by Manu:

> "20. Those (sons) whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling their sacred duties, are excluded from the Savitri, one must designate by the appellation Vra_tyas.
>
> "21. But from a Vra_tya (of the) Brahman.a spring the wicked Bhriggakantaka, the Avantya, the Va_tadha_na, the Pus.padha and the Saikha.
>
> "22. From a Vra_tya (of the) Ks.atriya, the Jhalla, the Malla, the Likkhive, the Nat.a, the Karan.a, the Khasa, and the Dravid.a.
>
> "23. From a Vra_tya (of the) Vais'ya are born a Sudhanvan, An Akarya, a Karus.a, a Vijanman, a Maitra, and a Sattvata." (Manu, 10.20-23).

In reference to the mention of dravid.a as vra_tya, cf. A.P.Karmarkar, 1950, *The Religions of India*. Volume I: The Vratya or Dravidian Systems. Lonavla.

The names of groups of people mentioned by Manu could be related to the gan.a-s or janapada-s of vra_tyas such as Licchavi, Malla, Moriya and among the Na_ga in Taks.as'ila, Pa_ta_l.apuri, Udayanapuri, An:ga and Champa. The vra_tya of the east and north-west of Madhyades'a may be identified as the speakers of Prakrit. In Mahawanso, there is a narration about the son of a courtesan from a Licchavi king who was thrown on a dust-heap, later rescued by a Na_ga king and made to ascend the throne of Magadha. (Ferguson, p. 63). After the S'is'u-na_ga kings, the Nanda dynasty ruled Magadha; one of the founders was known as Vra_tya-Nandi S'is'u-na_ga. The name denotes that the na_ga were vra_tya and that the Nanda were also of Na_ga lineage. (Kosare H. L. *prachin bharatatil naag*, marathi, 1989, Dnyan Pradip prakashan, Nagpur, p.43.)

In KS 10.6, there is a story of king Dhr.tara_s.t.ra Vaicitravi_rya who did not accept the vra_tya. The vra_tya, led by a kuru-pa_n~ca_la, Vaka da_lbhi, destroyed the king's cattle by performing some vows.

Satvata practised pa_n~cara_tra. Ya_muna_ca_rya notes that the term, sa_tvata used in pa_n~cara_tra context may also connote a_ca_rya as belonging to the vra_tya community; that both bha_gavata and sa_tvata refer to the devotees of the Lord. Thus, the term vra_tya (satvata) may connote a bra_hman.a teacher, a_ca_rya. Vra_tya-s are temple-priests and temple-administrators, but bha_gavata-s perform the five-fold activities for the Lord (bhagava_n).

Another view of scholars related to the social structure of Bha_rata in the historical periods just prior to the advent of Maha_vi_ra and Gautama Buddha explain vra_tya-s as non-Aryans absorbed into the 'Aryan' society: "The Sama Veda spoke at length of the Vratyastoma (a particular sacrifice or ritual) by which non-Aryan Vratyas were admitted into Aryan society. The equalization of castes and communities was, of course, brought to a head by Gautama Buddha, though he was no opponent of the Brahminical civilisation. Both he and Mahavira, the expounder of Jainism, while admitting that the Brahmin ideal is the right one, led a crusade against certain aspects of Brahmin culture. Hindu civilisation itself adapted for its use many ideals and precepts of Buddhism and

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Jainism. For instance, among many communities, offerings of rice and ghee took the place of animal sacrifice - a compromise with the Vedic ritualism." Source: *The Gazetteer of India*, Volume 1: Country and people. Delhi, Publications Division, Government of India, 1965. CHAPTER Vlll - Religion HINDUISM; Section: Cultural Synthesis by Dr. C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar, Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt,Prof. A.R.Wadia, Prof. M.Mujeeb,Dr.Dharm Pal and Fr. Jerome D'Souza, S.J.

Vrata

The term, 'vrata' occurs in the R.gveda about 220 times and seems to connote (1) deeds or functions of divinities and (2) divine ordinances about conduct or vows to be fulfilled, in community living.

आ॒शुभि॑श् चि॒द् यान् वि मु॑चाति नू॒नम् अरी॑रम॒द् अत॑मानं चि॒द् एतोः॑ ।
अ॒ह्यर्षू॑णां चि॒न् न्य् अयाअवि॒ष्याम् अनु॑ व्र॒तं स॑वि॒तुर् मोक्य् आगा॑त् ॥

2.038.03 The moving (Sun) is liberated by his rapid rays; verily he has stopped the traveller from his journey; he restraisn the desire of warriors for combat, for night follows (the cessation of) the function of Savita_. [The traveller form his journey: or, literally, the goer, from going].

त्वया॑ हि॒तम् अप्य॑म् अ॒प्सु भा॒गं धन्वान्व् आ मृ॑ग॒यसो॒ वि त॑स्थुः ।
वना॑नि॒ विभ्यो॒ नकि॑र् अस्य॒ तानि॑ व्र॒ता दे॒वस्य॑ सवि॒तुर् मि॑नन्ति ॥

2.038.07 The animals search in dry places for the water element which has been collected in the firmament by you; the woods are assigned (by you) to the birds; no one obstructs these functions of the divine Savita_.

किं स्वि॑न् नो॒ राजा॑ जगृहे॒ कद् अ॒स्याति॑ व्र॒तं च॑कृमा॒ को वि वे॑द ।
मि॒त्रश् चि॒द् धि ष्मा॑ जुहुरा॒णो दे॒वाञ् छ्लोको॒ न या॒ताम् अपि॒ वाजो॒ अस्ति॑ ॥

10.012.05 But will the royal Agni accept our oblation? Have we duly performed our vows to him? Who decides? As a friend affectionately invited, so let our praise now proceed to the gods; together with the sacrificial food that is left over.

न दे॒वाना॒म् अति॑ व्र॒तं श॒तात्मा॑ च॒न जी॑वति ।
तथा॑ यु॒जा वि वा॑वृते ॥

10.033.09 No one lives hundred years passing the limit fixed by the gods; so he is separated from his friends. [Hundred years: No one, even if he has a hundred lives, can live beyond the limit fixed].

त्वं हि न॑स् त॒न्वः सोम गो॒पा गात्रे॑भगात्रे निष॒सत्था॑ नृ॒चक्षाः॑ ।
यत् ते॑ व॒यम् प्र॑मि॒नाम॑ व्र॒तानि॒ स नो॑ मृळ सुष॒खा दे॑व॒ वस्यः॑ ॥

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8.048.09 O Soma, you are the guardian of our bodies, you dwell in each limb as the beholder of man; though we impair your rites, yet, divine one, bless us, you who are possessed of most excellent food and good friends.

Vrata is steady and compares with dharma, the inviolate obligation of all peoples for righteous conduct.

यच् चि॒द् धि ते॒ विशो॑ यथा॒ प्र दे॑व वरुण व्र॒तम् ।
मि॒नी॒मसि॒ द्यवि॑भद्यवि ॥

1.025.01 Inasmuch as all people commit errors, so do we, divine Varun.a, daily
disfigure your worship by imperfections.

व्र॒तेन॑ स्थो ध्रु॒वक्षे॑मा॒ धर्म॑णा यात॒यज्ज॑ना ।
नि ब॒र्हिषि॑ सदतं॒ सोम॑पीतये ॥

5.072.02 Steady are you (Mitra and Varun.a) in your functions, whom men animate by (their) devotion; come and sit down upon the sacred grass to drink the Soma libation.

Vrata like dharma is inviolate and cannot be broken by deva or asura:

न यस्येन्द्रो॒ वरु॑णो॒ न मि॒त्रो व्र॒तम् अ॑र्य॒मा न मि॒नन्ति॑ रु॒द्रः ।
नारा॑तय॒स् तम् इ॒दं स्व॒स्ति हु॒वे दे॒वं स॑वि॒तारं॒ नमो॑भिः ॥

2.038.09 I invite to this place, with reverential salutations, for my good, that divine Savita_, whose functions neither Indra, nor Varun.a, nor Mitra nor Aryaman nor Rudra nor the enemies (of the gods), impede.

Vra_ti

Vra_ti means a horde or settlement and a vrata is explained as a roving band. In AV 2.9.1, the term vra_tya is interpreted as equivalent to troops. PB 17.1.5.12 uses the term, prava_sa which may mean a sojourn, thus vra_tya may be those who led the life of a sojourned horde. In RV 1.163.8; 3.26.2; 5.53.11, the troops of the Maruta are referrd to as **s'ardha, vra_ta** and **gan.a**. Yajurveda and Ta_n.d.ya Bra_hman.a refer to Rudra as vra_tapati and gan.apati (VS 30.8; TB 3.4.5.1). Su_tra texts refer to vra_tya as arhanta (saints) or yaudha (warriors). Roth opines that vra_ta may connote a guild (cf. St. Petersburg Dictionary; Pan~cavims'a Bra_hman.a 6.9.25; 17.15.12; VS 16.25; TS 1.8.10.2).

अनु॑ त्वा॒ रथो॒ अनु॒ मर्यो॑ अर्व॒न्न् अनु॒ गावो ऽनु॒ भगः॑ क॒नीना॑म् ।
अनु॒ व्राता॑स॒स् तव॑ स॒ख्यम् ई॑यु॒र् अनु॑ दे॒वा म॑मिरे वी॒र्यं॑ ते ॥

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1.163.08 The car follows you, O Horse; men attend you; cattle follow you; the loveliness of maidens (waits) upon you; troops of demi-gods following you have sought your friendship; the gods themselves have been admirers of your vigour [Loveliness of maidens: bhagah kani_na_m = kanya_na_m saubha_gyam or saundaryam].

शर्धंभशर्धं व एषां व्रातंभव्रातं गणंभगणं सुशस्तिभिः ।
अनु क्रामेम धीतिभिः ॥

5.053.11 Let us wait with sacred praises and holy rites upon your several strength, and separate troop, and individual company.

तं शुभ्रम् अग्निम् अवसे हवामहे वैश्वानरम् मातरिश्वानम् उक्थ्यम् ।
बृहस्पतिम् मनुषो देवतातये विप्रं श्रोतारम् अतिथिं रघुष्यदम् ॥

3.026.02 We invoke you for our own protection and for the devotions of mankind, the radiant Agni, Vais'va_nara, the illuminator of the firmament, the adorable lord of sacred rites, the wise, the hearer (of supplications), the guest (of man), the quick-moving. [The adorable lord of sacred rites: br.haspati, explained here: br.hato yajn~asya patim, the lord of the great sacrifice, tatpa_lakataya_ sva_minam, lord through protecting it].(The reference is to the people of kus'ika).

Verajja_ni (according to the Jaina text A_ya_rangasutta, p. 83) or vaira_ja (AV 15.2.3: tam vairu_pam ca vaira_jam, a kingless constitution) was perhaps a democratic concept in vogue; vra_tyaka_n.d.a of Atharvaveda (AV 7.13: sabha_ ca samitis'ca_yata_m praja_pate rduhitaye samvidha_ne, samiti and sabha_ are two daughters, institutions, of Praja_pati) refers to an assembly, a gathering and sena_, the army.

Vra_ta

Vra_ta_ni is a term which occurs in RV 3.26.6 (cited below) and 5.53.11 (cited above) and vra_tyabhya_m is a term which occurs in AV 19.23.25. vra_ta is a san:gha living by violence, according to Pa_n.ini (*Ka_s'ika*: 5.3.113: utsetha ji_vinah san:gha_ vra_ta_h). Patan~jali endorses this by stating that vra_ta refers to san:gha. (5.2.21: vra_tena ji_vati ki vra_rtana_ma? na_na_ ja_ti_ya_ aniyatavr.ttaya utsedhaji_vinah san:gha_ vra_tah tes.a_m karma vra_tam, vra_takarman.a_ ji_vati_tivra_ti_nah. Weber notes that vra_ta means a troop and adds:

'Vra_ta (troop), the chief of a band of wanderers of aryan extraction, but absolutely independent, free from fetters of Bra_hmanical hierarchy and not following the aryan way of life'. (Weber, *Indische Studien*, 1.25.15, 121-40). Vra_ta is defined as san:gha_tmaka in RV 1.163.8; aviviks.itagan.a in RV 5.5.11; samu_ha in Gopatha Bra_hman.a 6.69.51. RV refers to the heroes as as vra_tasa_ha_h (RV 6.75.9; 10.34.12). *Maha_bha_rata* (Anus'a_sana Parva, line 2621) equates vra_tyas with can.d.a_la.

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व्रातं॑भव्रातं ग॒णंभग॑णं सुश॒स्तिभि॑र् अ॒ग्नेर् भाम॑म् म॒रुता॒म् ओज॑ ईमहे ।
पृष॑दश्वासो अनव॒भ्ररा॑धसो॒ गन्ता॑रो य॒ज्ञं वि॒दथे॑षु धीरा॑ः ॥

3.026.06 We solicit the might of the Maruts, the irradiation of Agni with solemn prayers in every assembly and company (of worshippers); those Maruts who ahve partly-coloured steeds, who are dispensers of unfailing wealth, firm (of purpose), and frequenters of sacrifices.

6.075.09 The guards (of chariot), revelling in the savoury (spoil), distributors of food, protecors in calamity, armed with spears, resolute, beautifully arranged, strong in arrows, invincible, of heroic valour, robust, and conquerors of numerous hosts. [The guards of the chariot: pitarah is the only substanive: pa_layita_rah, guards, defenders, a body of spearmen, s'aktivantah: attendants on the war chariot of the chief].

यो व॑ः सेना॒नीर् म॑ह॒तो ग॒णस्य॒ राजा॒ व्रात॑स्य प्रथ॒मो ब॒भूव॑ ।
तस्मै॑ कृणोमि॒ न धना॑ रुणध्मि॒ दशा॒हम् प्राची॒स् तद् ऋ॒तं व॑दामि ॥

10.034.12 Dice, I offer salutation to him who has been the general of your great army, the chief lord of your host; I do not provide him with wealth; I raise my ten (fingers) to the east; that (which) I speak (is) the truth. [I do not provide him wealth: na dana_ run.adhmi = I do not withhold my wealth; na sampa_daya_mi].

Vra_tya[2]

All vedic people were vra_tya, derived from vra_ta, group. Patan~jali notes that vra_tya were part of a republican constitution. (*Maha_bha_s.ya* 5.2.21; cf. ra_janya janapadasa, an epithet, an equivalent of the ks.atriya: Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 69; VS Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the India Museum*, Vol. I, p. 164). The use of gan.ayajn~a indicates a commune for social organization. A.B. Keith notes: 'That they (Vra_tyas) were non-aryan is not probable for it is expressly said that, though unconsecrated, they spoke the tongue of the consecrated; they were thus apparently aryans.' (*Vedic Index*, II;JRAS, 1913, p. 155; cf. *Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads* (*Harvard Oriental Series*), Vol. XXXI, p. 338).

Vra_tapati means, 'lord of troops' (TS 4.5.4.1; Ka_t.haka Sam.hita_ 18.13; MS 2.9.4; VS 16.25) and is comparable with gan.apati, 'lord of groups'. (cf. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 342). Pan~cavims'a Bra_hman.a (17.1.9: 'they call what is easy of utterance, difficult to utter') expressly states that Vra_tyas spoke the tongue of the consecrated, thus making them Vedic people as much as those who perform yajn~a-s. The su_tra-s refer to their arhants ('saints') and yaudhas ('warriors') comparable to the bra_hman.a and ks.atriya (cf. *Vedic Index,* II, p. 343).

The principal source for the tradition of the vra_tya is *Atharvaveda vra_tyaka_n.d.a* (AV 15). *Brahma_n.d.apura_n.a* (Madhyabha_ga: 63.138 ff. Recounting events related to Sagara's conquest, s'aka, pahalava, yavana, kamboja, parada, ma_hisika, darava, chola, khas'a are stated to have approached Vasis.t.ha) notes that Vas'is.t.ha rescued these people by turning them in vra_tya.

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Kaus'i_taki A_ran.yaka (7.13) connects Magadha with the vra_tya (AV 15.2.14). The legend of Pr.thu-Vain.ya (VP 62. 138-139) Su_ta and Ma_gadha are related to the dynasty of Pr.thu, the first monarch. Ma_gadha were the bards and minstrels. Su_ta sustained the king at the eka_ha-sattra (PB 19.1.4) and one of the eleven ratnin at the ra_jasu_ya ceremony. (S'B 5.3.1.5). Su_ta wa a soldier, chariot driver and a healer. Sa_yan.a commenting upon RV 10.34.12 (cited earlier) notes that the terms gan.a and vra_ta may be synonyms, connoting collective life of peoples: gan.a had sena_ni and vra_ta had ra_ja-prathama. *Jaimini_ya Bra_hman.a* (2.26) notes that for the vra_tyastoma of ais.ikapa_va-s, Kaus'i_taki (the author of the Kaus'i_taki Bra_hman.a of the R.gveda) was the gr.hapati. *Ka_tya_yana S'rauta Su_tra* (Ka_s'i edn.: 22.4: cartva_ro vra_tyastoma_ gan.ayajn~a_h) endorses the concordance between vra_ta and gan.a by referring to the vra_tyastoma as gan.ayajn~a and enjoins a gr.hapati for each of the four kinds of vra_tyastoma. Agrawal notes that the leader of vra_tya was perhaps called a gra_man.i_ (VS Agrawal, 1953, *India as known to Pa_n.ini*, p. 440).

The following paragraphs in reference to the vra_tya tradition, draw from the references cited in: V.W. Karambelkar, 1969, Vedic Maha_vrata, in: *KR Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, pp. 159 to 178; Radhakrishna Choudhary, 1964, *The Vra_tyas in Ancient India*, Varanasi, The Chowkhambba Sanskrit Series Office; Chowkhamba Sanskrit tudies,Vol. XXXVIII; and J. Hauer, 1927, Der Vra_tya, Stuttgart.

The vra_tya ka_n.d.a of Atharva Veda conclusively shows that the Vra_tya was a roving band (brata) or fellowship adored within the Vedic system. Cu_lika_ Upanis.ad (cf. Deussen's Upanis.ads, pp. 637, 640) notes the celebration of Brahman in the form of Vra_tya and mentions vra_tya and brahmaca_rin in the same verse. Cha_ndogya Upanis.ad (5.24.4) endorses that the sacrificial remnant may be offered even to an outcaste provided only that it be done with the right knowledge and it is as good as offering to the omnipresent Parama_tman.

"The Ka_n.d.a is a hymn in praise of the Vra_tya. Sayana observes that a Vra_tya is a person who has not undergone sacraments like Upanayana, the sacred thread ceremony. Such a person would normally be looked down upon in society, because he would not be authorized to take any part in religious ceremonies... But there are other meanings associated with the word which provide the background necessary to understand some of the Mantras. Scholars believe that the word was formerly used to denote those Aryan tribes which lived a semi-civilized nomad life and hovered on the skirts of Aryan settlements. The Ta_n.d.ya Bra_hman.a describes them as people who wore turbans as head-dresses, put on garments of black and white wool and rode on rough chariots. Their ornaments were made of silver. They took away food meant for sacrifice and took umbrage even at plain words. Though uninitiated, they spoke the language of the initiated. This refers, of course, to Samskrit quite obviously... They were gradually absorbed into Aryan settled society...

"They were Yogis in the main and worshipped God in His aspect of Rudra...In the Rudra_dhya_ya of the Yajur Veda, He is called Vra_tya and Us.n.is.i (the turbaned one). In this Ka_n.d.a under discussion, also there is a reference to his head-dress, his garments and his chariot...Western scholars have uniformly held that the Ka_n.d.a is in praise of the wandering mendicant." (pp. 10-12)

Vra_tyastoma

Vra_tyastoma is described in *Ta_n.d.ya Maha_ Bra_hman.a* and elaborated to in *Pan~cavims'a Bra_hman.a* [PB 17.1.9: 'They differed from Tr.tsu-Bharata-s in not being Bra_hmanical in culture and in differing in speech (adurukta)'. PB 17.4.3 notes that Kaus'i_taka, son of S'amasravah, was a Gr.hapati of the Vra_tya. Sa_yan.a notes that Kaus'i_taka was the r.s.i of a s'a_kha of R.gveda]. PB

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24.18 refers to sixty-one day rites and cites one Buddha Sauna_yana as the stha_pati of Daiva Vra_tya. Stha_pati may refer to a yajama_na (gr.hapati), a chief or king. Gr.hapati-s may be leaders of many vra_tya groups. PB 17.1.17 states that each vra_tya brought to the leader thirty three cows since they were allowed to prosper by their leader. Ukthya in agnis.t.oma may refer to uktha, land or cattle. Thus, using cattle, the leader leads the vra_tya to prosperity. The ceremony of gava_mayana sattra included the Maha_vrata on the last but one day, a day called udayani_ya (*Yajurveda*: TS 7.5.9.10; KS 34.S; *Ta_n.d.ya Bra_hman.a* 1.2.6; *Ta_n.d.ya Maha_ Bra_hman.a* 5.5.6; *Taittiri_ya A_ran.yaka, Kaus.i_taki_ and S'a_nkha_yana A_ran.yaka 1.5; 1.2*). The Maha_vrata is performed as an eka_ha or as ahi_na (performed on the tenth day of the Pun.d.ari_ka). A beast is sacrificed to Indra and Agni analogous to agnis.t.oma. A pot- full of Soma is dedicated to Praja_pati accompanied by recitation of Maha_vrata Sa_man; a beast is offered with the recitation of Mahaduktha. *Aitareya A_ran.yaka* (indro vai vr.tram hatva_ maha_nabhavat tadyayan maha_nabhavat tanmaha_vratasya maha_vratatvam: 1.2) extols the greatness of Indra as the cause for Maha_vrata. Maha_vrata sa_man (Pr.s.t.ha stotra accompanied by a lute with thousand strings made of mun~ja grass) and Mahaduktha (Nis.kaivalya S'astra) are symbolised as a bird (eagle or Suparn.a Garutman) with outstretched wings. *S'atapatha Bra_hman.a* refers to such an altar or vedi (S'B 9.1.2.35). Sa_yan.a offers a number of interpretations for maha_vrata: maha_n bhavati anena (he becomes great by means of this), mahato devasya vratam (ritual to propitiate the great God), mahat ca tad vratam (the great ritual) (TB 1.2.6.1; Ab 3.21.1; S'B 10.4.1.4).

As the Pr.s.t.ha stotra is recited (with wives of priests simply humming in accompaniment: JB 10.4.8; S'a_tya_s.a_d.ha S'S 16.6.21; A_p. S'S 27.17.15.16), udga_ta_ sits on a wooden seat; hotar sits on a swing; adhvaryu sits on a plank; other priests sit on grass seats. (TMB 5.5); a brahman praises from the front door of the sabha_gr.ha and a s'u_dra abuses from the backdoor (TMB 5.5.13). A_gnidhra is the priest; to the west of his cottage, an a_rya and a da_sa race and fight for a piece of leather resembling the sun. The a_rya becomes victorious (TMB 5.5.15; 17; S'B 16.7.28.32). To the north of the vedi, a brahmaca_rin and a woman of loose character abuse each other (sam.prava_da). To the south of ma_rjali_ya cottage, a couple not engaged in ritual, cohabits (KS'S 13.3.9). To the right of the vedi is a chariot on which sits a warrior youth clad in armour and equipped with weapons; he carries a bow and three arrows in his hand; he shoots them at a piece of leather of cow (vas'a) but does not tear it away (S'a_n:kha_yana S'rauta Su_tra 17.14). Drums are placed on four corners of the vedi and are sounded. In A_gnidhra's cottage and outside, to the west of the vedi, the hide of a bull is spread out and beaten (the earth-drum ritual). Around the ma_rjali_ya seat dance (putting their right foot in front, in unison) eight male and eight female persons with jars full of water placed on their heads and singing songs praising cows and ga_tha_ which have a repetitive chorus: 'this is honey'. (AB 5.1.5; S'a_tya_. S'S 16.6.39-41; A_pS'S 21.19-17-20).

Vra_tyastoma was perhaps a procedure to absorb new groups into the commune. The vra_tya wore nis.ka, silver ornament, around the neck (PB 17.1.14).

The leader of vra_tya wore nis.ka of silver. (PB 17.1.15). The nis.ka made of silver and of gold have been found in Lothal and in Kunal. The nis.ka is also referred to in the R.gveda (RV 5.19.3) and AV (5.17.4). They wore dress made of the hairy skin of a black antelope, upa_nah (pointed sandal) made of doubly-joined goat hide, us.nis.a (turban), carried a pratoda (whip or goad) and jya_hrod.a (a small bow and three arrows in a leather quiver), rode in vipatha (cart) with bamboo-sticks, without a canopy and drawn by horses and mules (KSS: 22.4.1: **phalaka_sti_rn.ovipathah**, a

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board-covered rough vehicle; KSS 22.4.16: **as'va_s'vatara_bhya_m kanya_bhya_m yuktah sva_dityeke**).

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> **vra_tya a_si_di_yama_na eva sa praja_patim samairayat**
>
> 1.1.1. Verily the Vra_tya was in a state of motion. He motivated (gave an impulse to) Praja_pati. Notes: In the Pappala_da recension, it is said, 'Vra_tya was in the beginning of all this'.
>
> **sa praja_patih suvarn.ma_tma_tmannapas'yat tat pra_janayat**
>
> 1.1.2. The Praja_pati saw gold in Himself and gave birth to it.
>
>> Notes: Just as all kinds of ornaments are made from gold, in the same way the succeeding universe in all its variety is born from this sum-total of Sam.ska_ras (residual effects of action)...Praja_pati is called Hiran.ya-garbha -- He who carries gold in his womb, i.e., within himself.

"The Ka_n.d.a is a hymn in praise of the Vra_tya. Sayana observes that a Vra_tya is a person who has not undergone sacraments like Upanayana, the sacred thread ceremony. Such a person would normally be looked down upon in society, because he would not be authorized to take any part in religious ceremonies... But there are other meanings associated with the word which provide the background necessary to understand some of the Mantras. Scholars believe that the word was formerly used to denote those Aryan tribes which lived a semi-civilized nomad life and hovered on the skirts of Aryan settlements. The Ta_n.d.ya Bra_hman.a describes them as people who wore turbans as head-dresses, put on garments of black and white wool and rode on rough chariots. Their ornaments were made of silver. They took away food meant for sacrifice and took umbrage even at plain words. Though uninitiated, they spoke the language of the initiated. This refers, of course, to Samskrit quite obviously...They were gradually absorbed into Aryan settled society...

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Magadha, su_ta; kavi, karapan

The tradition of magadha-s and su_ta-s in Bha_rata finds its parallel in the Avestan tradition of kavi-s and karapans -- the smiths (or bards) and the priests.

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अजैष्माद्यासनाम चाभूमानागसो वयम् ।

उषो यस्माद् दुष्वप्न्याद् अभैष्माप तद् उच्छत्व् अनेहसो व ऊतयः सुतयो व ऊतयः ॥

8.047.18 May we be today victorious, and obtain (happiness); may we be free from evil; Us.as, may that ill dream depart, of which we were afraid; your aids are void of harm, your aids are true aids.

The second line of the r.ca is the refrain repeated in the entire su_kta dedicated by r.s.i: trita a_ptya; to the devata_: a_dityagan.a, 14-18 a_dityagan.a and us.a_. Thus the su_ta are the true gan.a in the commune.

"...kings...called by the title of Kavis. One of these kavis, Usadan, reunited under his dominion the whole Aryan territory; one could well say of him what Yt. 10.13-14 says poetically of Mithra, that he 'ruled the whole Aryan territory where the great waters rolled their waves towards Iskata and Pouruta, towards Margiania, Areia, Gava (Sogdiana) and Khorasmia'...In order to determine the duration of the interregnum between the end of Kavi Haosravah's reign and the appearance of the prophet in that of Kavi Vishtapa, we have no point of reference; let us put, quite vaguely, a period of 25 to 100 years. The fiver generations of the ancient Kavis make up about 150 years. That is to day, we can place the organization of the eastern monarchy between 900 and 775 BC. The migration of the Median tribes into the regions of western Iran seems to have taken place in the 9th century. The earliest mention of the chiefs of the tirbe or the petty Median kings is found in an inscription of Salmanassar III, which dates from 835 BC...The national tradition makes much of the blacksmith Kavagh, who revolted against the usurper Dahagh (the Dahaka of the Yashts) and hoisted his leather apron on a lance, which was the origin of the flag of the Sasanian empire called the *Draft e Kavyan*, flag of Kavagh. This legend, born of a misunderstanding, is unknown in the religious tradition, for the true significance of the name *Draft e Kavyan* was 'the royal flag'." (Arthur Christensen, 1993, *The Kayanians (Les Kayanides),* Eng. tr. FN Tumboowalla, Bombay, KR Cama Oriental Institute).

The Sanskrit equivalent of *draft* is *drapsa*; and of kavyan is kavi. The kavi-s or smiths who became kings or ra_janya, chiefs.

The kavi or the smith becomes the political leader as exemplified by the Kayanians (or Kayanides) of the Avestan tradition.

Kavi, Ka_we, the divine 'smiths' and Kavya Us'anas

kavi, N. of several gods ,(esp.) of Agni RV. ii , 23 , 1 ; x , 5 , 4 , 3 ; iii , 5 , 1 ; i , 31 , 2 ; 76 , 5 ; of Varun2a, Indra, the As3vins, Maruts, A1dityas ; of the Soma ; of the Soma priest and other sacrificers (Skt.lex.)

kavaca = armour , cuirass , a coat of mail S3Br. xii , 2 , 2 , 7 Ka1tyS3r. xiii , 3 , 10 MBh. R.; any amulet , charm W. ; a mystical syllable (Skt.) kapiloha = brass (Skt.) vr.s.a_kapi = the sun MBh. ; fire Hariv. ; N. of S3iva MBh.Katha1s. ; of Indra BhP. ; of Vishn2u MBh. ; of one of the 11 Rudras ib. ; of the hymn attributed to Vr2isha1-kapi AitBr. ; %{-zastra} n. N. of wk. (Skt.)

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kavi-ttal = to cover, as an arch; kavacam = armour, coat of mail; lute, clay composition with which chemists close vessels; cen:ka_vi = saffron ochre (Ta.lex.)

kaveh = smith (Persian); kovae (Slovenian); kovac (Croatian); kovacsol (Hungarian) = smith.

Brahman.aspati, the kavi and Tvas.t.r. are associates in a process describing Tvas.t.r carrying a jar full of Soma or bowls from which the gods drink Soma:

त्वष्टा माया वेद् अपसाम् अपस्तमो बिभ्रत् पात्रा देवपानानि शृलततमा ।
शिशीते नूनम् परशुं स्वायसं येन वृश्चाद् एतशो ब्रह्मणस् पतिः ॥

10.053.09 Tvas.t.a_ knows the arts of fabricating (drinking vessels), the most skilful of artificers bearing the sacred drinking cups out of which the gods drink-- verily he sharpens his axe of good metal, wherewith the white-complexioned (swift) Brahman.aspati cuts them.

Smiths were central to the process of creation of wealth in early societies.

उद् ईरय कवितमं कवीनाम् उनत्तैनम् अभि मध्वा घृतेन । स नो वसूनि प्रयता हितानि
चन्द्राणि देवः सविता सुवाति ॥

5.042.03 Celebrate, (priests), the most prophetic of the prophets; imbue him with the sweet libation, and may the divine Savita_ bestow upon us ample, beneficial and delightful riches. [The most prophetic of the prophets: kavitamam kavi_na_m: kavi = kra_nta dar'i_, a seer or shower of the past, whence may be inferred the application of his knowledge to the future].

Aryaman

Aryaman of Vedic times is a personification of an early society; he is the guardian of the saptahotr. who are also called kavi; Aryaman is the divinity of the weddings and of the paths of the Fathers, of the gods, of the sun. He is called atu_rtapantham in RV 10.64.5:

दक्षस्य वादिते जन्मनि व्रते राजाना मित्रावरुणा विवाससि । अतूर्तपन्था: पुरुरथो
अर्यमा सप्तहोता विषुरूपेषु जन्मसु ॥

10.064.05 At the birth of Daks.a, at his sacred rite, you, Aditi, worshipped the royal Mitra and Varun.a at the sacred rite. Aryaman, whose course is not hurried,

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the giver of delight to many, having seven ministering (rays), (proceeds) in his multiform births. [Daks.a = the sun; Aryaman = the sun; Aditi = earth (Nirukta 11.23); having seven ministering rays: saptahota_ = hymned by the seven r.s.is, Bharadva_ja etc.; or seven seasons, i.e., the six seasons, and the intercalary month; his multiform births: i.e., his daily risings and settings].

Bailey (Harold W. Bailey, 1958, Iranian arya- and daha-, in: Transactions of the Philological Society, 1958: 71-115) notes that the term arya-man is a compound of arya - 'wealth' and the root man- 'to think', connoting 'to take thought for, care, act as a warden'. He summarizes that arya is 'true, Aryan wealth', and the name Aryaman as 'the being in charge of riches and hospitality', 'in charge of the treasury'. (Harold W. Bailey, 1986, 'Arya', Encyclopaedia Iranica 2.7: 681-83).

The r.ca RV 1.105.6 refers to the path of the mighty Aryaman; in RV 5.54.8 Maruts are compared to aryaman.ah, 'suitors', who approach laden with ornaments:

कद् व॑ ऋ॒तस्य॑ ध॒र्णसि॑ कद् वरु॑णस्य॒ चक्ष॑णम् । कद् अ॑र्य॒म्णो म॒हस् प॒थाति॑ क्रामेम दू॒ढ्यो॑ वि॒त्तम् मे॑ अ॒स्य रो॑दसी ॥

1.105.06 Where, deities, is your observance of the truth, where the (benignant) regard of Varun.a, where is the path of the mighty Aryaman, (so that) we may overcome the malevolent? Heaven and earth, be conscious of this (my affliction). [Varun.a and Aryaman: Varun.a is the obstructor of evil, which is undesired (anis.t.aniva_raka); Aryaman, is the restrainer of enemies (arin.a_m niyanta_)].

Vedic Aryaman is a patron of matrimony or hospitality and a suitor laying the path with riches. Just as Br.haspati is associated with Kavi-hood, Aryaman is associated with the path of the effulgent, Su_rya: asau va_ a_dityo' ryama_ (a chant recommended by TS after TS II.3.14; MS 4.12.4). In RV 5.3.2, Agni becomes Aryaman; he functions as Hotr. during delivery in AV1.11.1. Aryaman connotes a social unit of seven priests or kavis engaged in creation of wealth; in this community activity, Aryaman defines the path.

त्वम् अ॑र्य॒मा भ॑वसि॒ यत् क॒नीना॒ं नाम॑ स्वधाव॒न् गुह्य॑म् बिभर्षि॑ । अ॒ञ्जन्ति॑ मि॒त्रं सुधि॑त॒ं न गोभि॒र् यद् दम्प॑ती॒ सम॑नसा कृ॒णोषि॑ ॥

5.003.02 You are Aryaman in relation to maidens; you bear, enjoy of sacrificial food, a mysterious name; they anoint you, like a welcome friend, with milk and butter, when you make husband and wife of one mind. [You are Aryaman in relation to maidens: tvam aryama_ yat kani_na_m: as regulator of the ceremony the nuptial fire may be regarded as Aryaman; a mysterious name: that of Vais'va_nara, the friend of all,

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vis'va, men, nara; with milk and butter: an~janti mitram sudhitam na gobhih: gobbhih: lit., with cows, used by metonymy for the products of the cow].

A_pastamba (ii.9.23,3-5) cites a Pura_n.a in relation to the sages and the path of Aryaman (Buhler's 2nd edn., Bombay, 1892): "Now they quote (the following) two verses from a Pura_n.a: Those eighty thousand sages who desired offspring passed to the south by Aryaman's road and obtained burial-grounds. Those eighty thousand sages who desired no offspring passed by Aryaman's road to the north and obtained immortality".

"In mythic history, Thraitauna is the hero who defeated the Dahian Serpent, Azi daha_ka, who had usurped the throne. Before that feat, Thraitauna had been hidden in the 'mountains' by his mother. The wise 'smith' kawe, had ultimately defied the serpentine ruler, and his apron became the banner of the Iranian troops of which Thraitaunabecame the leader. This is the dirafsh-i- ka_viya_n of the Sha_hna_me, the banner of the Iranian kawi-s. Fastened to a pole or lance, this apron (or leather bag, or hat) was made of bull hide, Phl. ga_w drafs. [The classical study is Arthur Christensen, 1925, *The smith Kaveh and the ancient Persian Imperial banner, Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute* 5: 22-39 (tr. J.M. Unvala from the Danish original (1919)] (loc.cit. G.L. Windfuhr, 1999, A note on Aryaman's social and cosmic setting, in: Johannes Bronkhorst and Madhav M. Deshpande, eds., Aryan and Non-Aryan in South Asia, Harvard Oriental Series, Opera Minora Vol. 3, Cambridge).

"The hidden connection between Aryaman and Thraitauna becomes apparent when this Indian and Iranian constellation is identified by its western name: the now forgotten Flag,or Banner. The latter is described as follows: 'The Flag is a constellation of the heavens, one part in Leo and one part in Virgo. Has many stars. On the iron (the arrowhead of the staff) in front one, on the flag two, on every fold of the flag one'. In fact, there is a tradition of assigning a flag to this constellation in India as well. In the Maha_bha_rata (4.66.13), Prince Uttara, the son of King Vira_t.a, has a lion on his banner. The constellation of Aryaman is thus located at another crucial point along the path of the sun, between Virgo and Leo...That is, Aryaman's banner is located at the transition from the age of Gemini to the age of Taurus. The age of Gemini is the first age, the Golden Age, ruled by the Twins, in Iran by Yima, the Twin...At the end of that age, Aryaman and his banner reappear, in the guise of the banner of the 'smith' Ka_we, leading in the new age of Aries, which will be the age of the arya (Iranian) Kawi-kings. (According to Paulus Alexandrinus, Persia belongs to Aries)...In Indian terms, the defeat of the Dahian serpent corresponds to Indra's defeating the serpent Vr.tra, and the freeing of the cows...the celestial Vr.tra (and thus Azi Daha_ka) is the constellation Hydra. During the age of Taurus between 4000-2000 BC, it stretched along the celestial equator, and threatened or 'ruled' the age of the Bull. It appears that the mythic monster's 'three heads' reflect the stretch of more than 3X30 degrees of the equator in the night sky.". (G.L.Windfuhr, opcit., pp. 324-325).

Ka_vya Us'anas and Kayanides

"The most exhaustive study ... by Arthur Christensen in his book on the Kayanian dynasty of Iran (Christensen, A.,1932, Les Kayanides. Det Kgl. Danske

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Videnskabernes Sellskab, Hist.-Filos. Meddelelser XIX.2. Copenhagen). In it he argued that the rulers who are styled Kauui in the Avesta (Kauui Kauua_ta, etc.) were most probably historical figures...the list of Kauuis also contains at least one figure that is also found in Indian tradition, as shown by Lommel and Dumezil, namely Kauuui Usan/Usad.an, who both by name and by the legends associated with him corresponds to Ka_vya Us'anas of Indian tradition. There is therefore every reason to conclude that the list of Kauuis also contains only mythological figures (Kellens, J., 1979, L'Avesta Comme source historique: La liste des Kayanides. In Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia, ed. by J. Harmatta, 41-53. Budapest, Akademiai Kiado). As for the title kauui itself, although in the later Zoroastrian tradition it designates political rulers, there is no evidence in the Avesta that it is used other than as a designation of a special kind of priest. In the Gathas it is closely related to terms such as karapan and usij, both designate special kinds of priests, and its Indian relative kavi has nothing to do with political powr, but designates the poest priest. The kauuis listed in the yashts are also not described as rulers, for which Avestan has a series of very specific terms consisting of a word for territory plus paiti 'lord'. When kauui is not used as a title it is commonly found in lists of opponents of the Zoroastrian religion, a notion inherited from the Gathas, where the kauuis are portrayed as opponents of Zarathustra, with the exception of Kauui Vis.ta_spa, who supported him. Nevertheless, the Gathis Kauui Vis.ta_spa is commonly portrayed in Western scholarly literature as the royal patron of Zarathustra, primarily no doubt, through the influence of the later Zoroastrian tradition, (in which Vis.ta_spa is a king, who, together with his minister, Ja_ma_sp, goes to battle against Arza_sp in the defense of the new faith), but partly also through the interpretation of some Avestan passages. Thus, in Yt 5.68, Ja_ma_spa is said to have sacrificed to Ana_hita_ as he confronted an army of liars and dae_ua worshippers, and in passages of Yt. 19 Kauui Vis.ta_spa is said to have fought for the good religion." (P. Oktor Skjaervo, 1995, The Avesta as source for the early history of the Iranians, in: George Erdosy, ed., *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co.)

In S'S'S 3.16.3,10 the fire is addressed as kavyava_hana. TBr 1.6.9.6: agnim kavyava_hanam yajati ya eva pitr._n.a_m agnih tam eva yad yajati. It is distinguished from the fire of the demons (TS 2.5.8.6: trayo va_ agnayo havyava_hano deva_na_m, kavyava_hanah pitr.n.a_m saharaks.a_ asura_n.a_m). The Kavi, the smiths, are fire-workers.

> त्वम् इ॑न्द्र॒ न॒र्यो॑ याँ॒ अवो॒ नॄन् ति॒ष्ठा वात॑स्य सु॒युजो॒ वहि॑ष्ठान् ।
> यं ते॑ का॒व्य उ॒शना॑ म॒न्दिनं॒ दाद् वृ॑त्र॒हणं॒ पार्यं॑ ततक्ष॒ वज्र॑म् ॥

> 1.121.12 Indra, friend of man, mount the horses whom you cherish, who are fleet as the wind, are easily yoked, and who bear (theri burden) well; you have sharpened the foe-destroying thunderbolt, the slayer of Vr.tra, which inspiring (weapon) Us'anas, the son of Kavi, gave you. [Which inspiring weapon: The weapon was the gift of R.bhu;and is also attributed to Us'anas].

Br.haspati is a form of Agni and both are Kavis: RV 2.23.1: kavim kavi_na_m upamas'ravastamam jyes.t.hara_jam brahman.a_m brahman.aspate... Maruts are called kavi in RV 1.87.5 and also as r.kvan, elsewhere. "...even the recent research has not disputed that Kavi is the cognate of kava, outlawed in Iran, and of Ka_vaya, 'the follower of Kavi.' The polemical allusions in ga_tha_s like

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Yasna XLIV.20 demonstrate clearly his relationship with the Devas, and further with the Karapans and Us'ij. Yasna XLIV.20: cithena_ mazda_ huxs.athra_ dae_va_ a_nhare at.i_t. peresa_ yo_i pis.yeinti_ ae_ibyo kam ya_is. gam karapa_ usixs. ca_ ae_s.ema_i da_ta_ ya_ ca_ kava_ anmee_ni_ uru_do_yata. The passage shows the cultural-historical surroundings of the heretical Kavis and Karapans who belong, like the Devas, to the enemies of Zarathus.tra and can be as little separated from the Brahmanical belief as the Dae_vas whom they serve...Usixs. is also mentioned in the ga_tha_ and this very name appears, even though it is not particularly stressed, as the designation of ancient priests preceisely in the older texts of the Vedic literature. [n.74: This word (at times in the singular and at others in the plural) is the name of a priestly gotra and of its mythical progenitor who presses the Soma and enjoys the friendship of Indra. He is at par with Kutsa, An:giras and Gautama. TS 6.3.6.1: r.tvijo vai vahnaya us'ijah]. It is certainly no accident that the famous Kai Ka_o_s of the Iranian saga exhibits a similarity in name with Kavi Us'ana of India who appears as the teacher of the Asuras in the later literature. To the passages cited by Spiegel we may add the statement of the Bra_hman.as: us'ana_ vai ka_vyo sura_n.a_m purohita a_si_t, that is to say, directly in the period which follows the R.V we encounter the name Us'anas on the side of the Asuras, a name which is celebrated in Iran." [Alfred Hillebrandt, 1927, Vedische Mythologie, tr. Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, 1980, Vedic Mythology, 2 vols. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, II, pp. 267-268].

Soma is called Kavi; he has attributes like kavi_yat, kavikratu, kratuvid, vipra, vis'vavid connoting a similar idea. RV 9.6.8: a_tma yajn~asya ranhya_ sus.va_n.ah pavate sutah pratnam ni pa_ti ka_vyam; RV 9.87.3: r.s.ir viprah puraeta_ jana_na_m r.bhur dhi_ra us'ana_ ka_vyena sa cid viveda nihitam yad a_sa_m api_cyam guhyam na_ma gona_m, 'A father of the gods, their strong begetter...a R.s.i, a wise one, a leader of men, a steadfast R.bhu, an Us'anas in wisdom, he found what was hidden of that, the concealed secret name of the cows'...RV 9.96.18: r.simana_ ya r.sikr.t svars.a_h sahasran.i_thah padavi_h kavi_na_m, 'He who has the mind of the R.sis, creates the R.s.is, recovers the light, knows thousand wise men and is the forerunner among the Kavis...RV 9.85.9 adhi dya_m astha_d vr.s.abho vicaks.an.ah aru_rucad vi divo rocana_ kavih ra_ja_ pavitram aty eti roruvat divah pi_yu_s.am duhate nr.caks.asah, 'The all-knowing bull ascended to heaven. The Kavi caused the spaces of heaven to shine. The king passes through the Pavitra with a roar. They milk the juice of heaven which beholds the mankind.' [Alfred Hillebrandt, 1927, Vedische Mythologie, tr. Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, 1980, Vedic Mythology, 2 vols. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, vol. I, p. 246, p. 224]

kavya Nom. P. {kavyati} , to be wise Pa1n2. 7-4 , 39.

kavya mfn. (= {kavi} Kas. on Pan. 5-4 , 30) wise RV. x , 15 , 9 (at VS. xxii , 2 read {kavyAH}) ; a sacrificer , sacrificial priest RV. ix , 91 , 2 ; N. of a class of deities associated with Angiras and Rikvan [Gmn. ; a class of manes] RV. x , 14 , 3 AV. ; N. of one of the seven sages of the fourth Manv-antara Hariv. ; ({am}) n. (generally in connection with {havya} see {havya-kavya})" what must be offered to the wise ", an oblation of food to deceased ancestors MBh. Mn. (Skt.lex.) T

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The following r.cas elaborate on the semantics of 'kavya':

ये तातृषुर् देवत्रा जेहमाना होत्राविद स्तोमतष्टासो अर्कैः ।
आग्ने याहि सुविदत्रेभिर् अर्वाङ् सत्यैः कव्यैः पितृभिर् घर्मसद्भिः ॥

10.015.09 Come, Agni, to our presence with the Pitr.s, who are possessed of knowledge, who having attained a seat among the gods, thirst (for the Soma), skilled in sacrifices, reciters of praises with hymns, truth-speaking, seers, frequenters of sacrifices.

वीती जनस्य दिव्यस्य कव्यैर् अधि सुवानो नहुष्येभिर् इन्दुः ।
प्र यो नृभिर् अमृतो मर्त्येभिर् मअर्मृजानो ऽविभिर् गोभिर् अद्भिः ॥

9.091.02 The Soma juice effused by pious mortals (comes) down (to the sacrifice) for the food of the celestial people; which immortal (beverage) is purified by mortal (priests) with the filter, the curds and milk and the waters.

मातली कव्यैर् यमो अङ्गिरोभिर् बृहस्पतिर् ऋक्वभिर्
वावृधानः । याृलतश् च देवा वावृधुर् ये च देवान् स्वाहान्येस्वधयान्ये मदन्ति ॥

10.014.03 Ma_talin prospers with the Kavyas; Yama with the An:girasas; Br.haspati with the R.kvans; they whom the gods augment, and they who augment the gods, these rejoice in Sva_ha_, those in the Svadha_. [Ma_talin: Ma_tali_ is the name of the charioteer of Indra; so Ma_talin (having Ma_tali_) is a name of Indra].

यो अग्निः कव्यवाहनः पितृन् यक्षद् ऋतावृधः ।
प्रेद् उ हव्यानि वोचति देवेभ्यश् च पितृभ्य आ ॥

10.016.11 Let Agni the bearer of the Kavya worship the Pitr.s, who are magnified by truth, let him declare which are the offerings to the gods, which to the Pitr.s. [kavyava_hana = one who carries offerings of the sacrifice to the manes (Skt.lex.)]

गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे कविं कवीनाम् उपमश्रवस्तमम् ।
ज्येष्ठराजम् ब्रह्मणाम् ब्रह्मणस् पत आ नः शृण्वन्न् ऊतिभिः सीद सादनम् ॥

2.023.01 We invoke the Brahman.aspati, chief leaderof the (heavenly) bands; a sage of sage; abounding beyond measure in (every kind of) food;best lord of prayer; hearing our invocations, come with your protections, and sit down in the chamber of sacrifice. [Brahman.aspati = brahman.o annasya parivr.d.hasya karman.o va_ pa_layita_, the protector or cherisher of food,or of any great or solemn acts of devotion; he has other attributes in the text, as, gan.a_na_m gan.apatih, chief of the

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gan.as (inferior deities); jyes.t.hara_jam brahman.a_m, the best lord of mantras, or prayers: pras'asyam sva_minam mantra_n.a_m].

दु॒रा॒ध्यो अदि॑तिं स्रे॒वय॑न्तो ऽचे॒तसो॒ वि ज॑गृभ्रे॒ परु॑ष्णीम् ।
म॒ह्नावि॑व्यक् पृथि॒वीम् पत्य॑मानः प॒शुष् क॒विर् अ॑शय्॒
चाय॑मानः ॥

7.018.08 The evil-disposed and stupid (enemies of Suda_sa), crossing the humble Parus.n.i river, have broken down its banks; but he by his greatness pervades the earth, and Kavi, the son of Ca_yamana, like a falling victim, sleeps (in death). [Sleeps in death: killed Suda_sa]. Kavi = a keeper of herd (Skt.lex.)

S'ukra-Us'anas, Ka_vya Us'anas and Cyavana -- Bha_rgava, a_n:girasa tradition in Indian Civilization

Us'anas-S'ukra (Va_yu P. 97.140) and Cyavana [MBh 13.51,2685; also, his descendant R.ci_ka --(Va_yu P. 9193; Pad. P. 6.268,13) ; his grandson Ra_ma_ Ja_madagnya--(MBh 7.70,2435)] are Bha_rgava or Bhr.gu.

The Pura_n.a tradition (Va_yu P. 1.33; cf. Pad.P. 5.1.29) remembers (smr.ta) S'ukra-Us'anas as Ka_vya. Us'anas-S'ukra was a Bha_rgava r.s.i whose daughter Devaya_ni_ was one of the two wives of Yaya_ti (son of Nahus.a). S'ukra was the name of the planet Venus. S'ukra's wife was named Go. (Hence, the connotation kavya, the products of the cow; cf.pan~ca-kavya, five products from the cow, used as oblations for the manes and in the yajn~a, as fat, to enhance the intensity of the fire).

Br.haspati (son of An:giras; his wife was Ta_ra_; his son was Budha; here, Br.haspati means a planet) was the a_ca_rya of the daitya in their conflict with the asuras, the da_nava. The priest of the da_nava or asura was the Bha_rgava Us'anas-S'ukra (MBh 1.76,3185 f; 7.63,2295; 12.29,990; Matsya P. 25,6 f; 249,4 f). "Both these r.s.is are assigned a chronological position in that the war is placed in Yaya_ti's reign and Yaya_ti married S'ukra's daughter Devaya_ni_. Br.haspati is introduced in the fable about Nahus.a, MBh 5.10.360 f; 14,480. It seems to me from some consideration of the deva_sura wars, that the stories of the conflicts between the devas and asuras are based, partly, on religious struggles in the earliest times...Among the Bha_rgavas Bhr.gu and Kavi are purely mythical, but as regards Us'anas-S'ukra, who is called their son, it must be noted that Us'anas and S'ukra were names of the planet Venus also, and the two must be distinguished. The r.s.i always appears as the great priest of the Daityas and Da_navas and as the antagonist of the secondBr.haspati with the same chronological position. But he and the planet were confused andidentified (MBh 1,66,2606-7), and so the latter is styled in astronomical accounts Bha_rgava, the 'sacrificing priest of the asuras' and 'divine' (Va_yu P. 53,80,106; Bd. 2,24,89,131; Lg 1,61,17 (all deva); Matsya P. 128, 47, 63 (Daitya). Further,since thefirstand second Br.haspatis were confused, the antagonism led to this r.s.i's being foisted as Br.haspati's adversary into the story of Ta_ra_ in late Pura_n.as. (Vis. 4,6,8,10; Bha_g P. 9,14,6)...The best Maha_bha_rata account (MBh 1,66,2605-13) says Bhr.gu had two sons S'ukra-Kavi-Graha who was guru of the Daityas and gods (sura), and Cyavana; Cyavana married Manu's daughter A_rus.i_ and had a son Aurva; Aurva's son was R.ci_ka, who had a hundred sons, the eldest of whom was Jamadagni; and Jamadagni had four sons of whom Ra_ma was the youngest...The foregoing versions give the earliest Bhr.gus as Us'anas-S'ukra and Cyavana, as brothers. Both are often spoken of as Bha_rgavas. The former is sometimescalledKavi,

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sometimes made distinct from Kavi, and more often made Kavi's son, often Ka_vya and sometimes best of the Kavis, so that the tradition places Kavi above him. Moreover it will be seen that he is placed later than Cyavana by tradition, because Cyavana is connected with Manu's son S'arya_ti and S'ukra with Yaya_ti, who was later. Hence the two most ancient Bha_rgavas were Cyavana, who is called Cyava_na in Vedic literature, and Us'anas-S'ukra. Cyavana, it isoften said, married Sukanya_, daughter of Kanu's son, king S'arya_ti, and sacrificed for him. He is also connected with Manu's other son Pr.s.adhra. His position is therefore clearly fixed, though late, and especially brahmanic, tales wrongly introduce him as existing at other periods; and he is made the subject of fable even in the Rigveda (As that the As'vins restored him to yough. Vedic Index 1,264; MBh 3,123; Bha_g P. 9,3,2-17.; The fable shows he was far more ancient than the hymns). Us'anas-S'ukra, for he had both names, is generally connected with the Daityas, Da_navas and asuras, who meant originally tribes hostile to the Aryans, being called their guru, a_ca_rya, upa_dhya_ya, purohita, and ya_jaka. His intimate connection with them is often alluded to. In later notices his position was improved and he became guru or a_ca_rya of the gods (devas) as well as of the Daityas, and then more positively of the gods and asuras -- an impossible status. So he is called divine, but never, as far as I know, unequivocally teacher or priest of the gods alone...hence in the passages where he is called priest of the suras, 'gods', also, the word sura has probably superseded asura sometimes. Why the change took place is not clear, but improvement may have been felt to be required after that metamorphosis and after the Bha_rgavas became famous brahmans; and it is worthy of note that fables say S'iva took Kavi as his son, and Uma_ prevented S'iva from slaying Us'anas, whence Us'anas became her son. (MBh 12, 291,10693; Bd. P. 3,10,17-18; Va_yu P 72, 15-16; Br. 34, 90-1; Lg 2,13,6). His original position comes out clearly from stories of the war between the devas (gods) and asuras. (S'ukra among the asuras, Br.haspati among the devas, MBh 15, 28, 753). He was on the asuras' side and restored the slain asuras to life by means of a potent spell called mr.ta-san~ji_vani_ (Br 95,26,30), which he had obtained from S'iva (Lg 1,35,16-17,25; Pad P 6,146,3) and which the devas did not know (Br 95,26). The devas' priest Br.haspati could not restore the slain devas to life, until (according to one versionj) his son Kaca succeeded by stratagem in learning the spell from S'ukra. Then the devas got it and vanquished S'ukra and the asuras. (Ag 240,1; MBh 1,76; Matsya P 25). The genealogy says S'ukra's wife was the pitr.-kanya_ Go, and they had four sons, Tvas.t.r., Varu_trin, S'an.d.a (or San.d.a) and Marka. Tvas.t.r. introduces, and passes off into, mythology, with his alleged two sons, Tris'iras-Vis'varu_pa and Vis'vakarman. Varu_trin had three sons (named), who were priests of the Daityas, hostile to Indra, and so perished. (The Va_yu reading is: brahmis.t.ha_ sura-ya_jaka_h may have to be read as: brahmis.t.ha_sura ya_jaka_h; cf. Vis. 1,17,48 where Bha_rgavas were purohitas to the Daitya king Hiran.yakas'ipu). S'an.d.a and Marka were priests of the asuras according to Vedic literature (both are called asura-raks.as, S'atapatha Bra_hman.a 4,2.1,4-6), and are mentioned in the Pura_n.a in connection with a great war between the devas and the Daityas and Da_navas. (S.an.d.a in Pad P 5,19,272). It is said that at the devas' entreaty they abandoned the Daityas and Da_navas and helped the devas, who then were victorious; and it appears to be said that S'ukra then cursed them. (Va_yu P 97,72,86; 98, 63-7). S'ukra had a daughter Devaya_ni_ by (the genealogy says) Jayanti_ (Va_yu P 97, 149-54); and she married Yaya_ti. Tradition then leaves Us'anas-S'ukra's lineage in this position, that it sank as the Daityas fell and disappeared in one way or another, and certainly no brahman family (as far as I am aware) claimed descent from him, unless possibly the Ma_rkan.d.eyas were descended from Marka. It must be noticed that Cyavana's family and Us'anas-S'ukra's family appear to have occupied different regions. Cyavana isalways connected with the west of India, the country around the Gulf of Cambay, in or near S'arya_ti's territory A_narta (Gujarat) as shown by the story of his marrying Sukanya_, and by the statement that he performed austerities near the Vaidu_rya Mts (the west portion of the Satpura range) and the River Narmada_. (MBh 3,122,10316 with 121, 10310-13; 124, 10374-7; Pad P 14, 12-26, 46-53; 16,3, connecting him with the River Payos.n.i_ (Tapti). Us'anas-S'ukra is connected rather with the central region of N. India, for Yaya_ti king of Pratis.t.ha_na (Allahabad) met his daughter Devaya_ni_ near his own territory and married her; and Kapa_lamocana on the Sarasvati_ is called his ti_rtha. (MBh 9,40,2249-51, 2262). Cyavana's descendants remained connected with west India (MBh 3,118,10223 and context. Brahmanical fables about Cyavana, MBh 13, 50 to 56), and when the Haihayas

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dominated that region and the S'a_ryata kingdom perished, they became associated with the Haihayas. It is they who produced the great Bha_rgava family...Two sons are given to Cyavana and Sukanya_, Apnava_na and Dadhi_ca. Apnava_na is mentioned in the Rigveda, and his name is corrupted in the Pura_n.a to A_pnuva_na, A_prava_na, Atmava_na and A_tmavant. The Matsya account wrongly makes Cyavana and Apnava_na brothers, because Apnava_na's wife Ruci has the patronymic Na_hus.i_, which means no doubt that she was daughter of the Aila king Nahus.a, so that he would have been a younger contemporary of Nahus.a and therefore, a descendant rather than brother of Cyavana. Dadhi_ca is hopelessly enveloped in fable. (MBh 9, 52, 2929-60; 12, 344, 13211-12). A son Sa_rasvata is assigned to him, of whom a fable is narrated. (MBh 9, 52, 2931-49, 2960-77). Another account gives another son, Pramati, to Cyavana, but the connection has been greatly contracted... (MBh 13,4,207 called Urva's son R.ci_ka 'son of Cyavana'). The genealogy says Apnava_na's son was Urva, but it has contracted the pedigree, because...Urva was later and therefore was a descendant...After Kr.tavi_rya's (of the Haihayas) death the princes of his family demanded the wealth back, but the Bha_rgavas refused to give it up. They used violence to the Bha_rgavas and the Bha_rgavas fled to other countries for safety. One of the Bha_rgava wives gave birth to a son then who was called Aurva...R.ci_ka Aurva became skilled in archery. He sought in marriage Satyavati_ daughter of Ga_dhi or Ga_thin, king of Kanya_kubja...The genealogy says R.ci_ka had many sons, of whom Jamadagni was the eldest. None of the others are names, but perhaps Aji_garta was one, for his son S'unahs'epa was a Bha_rgava and was adopted by Vis'va_mitra. Jamadagni was trained to archery and arms, and allied himself with the royal house of Ayodhya_, for he married Ren.uka_ daughter of Ren.u, a junior ra_ja_ of that line; but he was a peaceful r.s.i and left martial exploits alone. Jamadagni had four or five sons, of whom Ra_ma was the youngest and greatest. Ra_ma is always described as a great warrior, skilled in all weapons, especially in archery. Though a brahman, he is generally spoken of as virtually a ks.atriya, combining the two characters, brahma-ks.atra. The battle axe is mentioned as his special weapon, whence he is sometimes called Paras'u-Ra_ma in later writings, to distinguish him from Ra_ma of Ayodhya_, who is then called Ra_macandra. (Pad P 4,17,14,65). These Aurvas lived in Madhyades'a where they had fled and married, and the Haihaya king Arjuna Ka_rtavi_rya is said in his conquests there to have molested Jamadagni. There was hostility and Arjuna's sons killed Jamadagni. Ra_ma in revenge killed Arjuna and also, it is said, many Haihayas. The Haihayas pursued their devastating raids through N. India, until Sagara annihilated their power...It is fabled that Ra_ma, after exterminating the ks.atriyas, sacrified at Ra_ma-ti_rtha with Kas'yapa as his upa_dhya_ya and gave him the earth (or a golden altar) as his fee: whereupon Kas'yapa banished him to the southern ocean, and the ocean made the S'u_rpa_raka country (near Bombay) for Ra_ma, and Ra_ma dwelt there...The next Bha_rgava r.s.i mentioned is the Aurva who succoured Sagara of Ayodhya_ and whose name was Agni...About the same time lived king Vi_tahavya whom a Bhr.gu r.s.i saved from Pratardana of Ka_s'i by impliedly asserting that he was a brahman, and who consequently became a brahman. His descendants are set out for fifteen generations. His son was Gr.tsamada, whose eleventh descendant was Pramati, whose son was Ruru, whose son was S'unaka, from whom came the S'aunakas. (cf. Gr.tsamada a R.gvedic r.s.i in: introduction to Rigveda ii, Anukraman.i_; RV 9.86) " (Pargiter, F.E., 1922, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, repr. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, pp.187-188; pp. 193-197).

Us'ija is an a_n:girasa r.s.i (RV 1.158.1,4; Aus'ija: RV 1.18.1 and 10.99.11). R.jis'van's ancestor was Vidathin Bharadva_ja descended from Us'ija (also called Aus'i_nari_). Aus'ija Di_rghas'ravas is named with Kaks.i_vant in RV 1.112.11. Di_rghatamas assumed the name Gautama or Gotama. The r.s.is began in Vais'a_li_ and moved westwards; Di_rghatamas moved to Girivraja or Magadha and later consecrated king Bharata. Vidathin Bharadva_ja's descendants remained connected with the Paurava dynasty (e.g. Ajami_d.ha, Abhya_vartin Ca_yama_na and Divoda_sa king of N. Pan~ca_la). The RV r.cas 1.116 to 126 are attributed to Kaks.i_vant Dairghatamasa Aus'ija. Kan.vas (an offshoot from the Paurava line) came after Ajami_d.ha. (cf. Pargiter,opcit., pp. 225-228). A Kan.va named Vatsa, the author of RV 8.6.39 lives at the S'aryan.a_vat (a lake near

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Harya_n.a); he is also the author of RV 9.113.1-2 who wishes for Soma from A_rji_ka (Vipa_s'a or Beas River), linked with the Pu_rus and perhaps close to S'aryan.a_vat. In RV 8.7. 18,19,32, a Kan.va asks: "The Maruts have come down at Sus.oma, Saryan.a_vat, A_rji_ka and Pastya_vat. When will they approach here the singer who invokes them?"

S'aunaka and Atharvaveda sam.hita_

Ghora A_n:girasa is an appellation in Kaus.i_taki Bra_hman.a 30.6; this is as a contrast to bhis.aj a_tharvan.a. (cf. Bloomfield, SBE,XLII, p. xxi). In Cha_ndogya Upanis.ad 3.17.6, Kr.s.n.a Devaki_putra is a disciple of Ghora A_n:girasa. Guhera = a smith; a guardian (Skt.lex.) R.bhu is a smith, a builder of carriages and vehicles. KBr XXX.6 mentions Br.haspati as the Brahman of the Sadyahkri_ sacrifice for the A_dityas (as the hosts of the sacrifice); that is sadyahkri_ (S'Br 3.5.1.17), Aya_sya as the Udga_tr., and Ghora as the Adhvaryu -- all are A_n:girasas.

ka~_guru, ka~_gar portable brazier (K.); kan:gar portable large brazier (K.); ka~_gri_ small portable brazier (H.)(CDIAL 3006). a~ga_ri_ small hearth with embers in it (G.); an:ga_rika_, anga_rita_ portable fireplace (Skt.)(CDIAL 131). . agnis.t.ha_ that corner of the sacrificial post which is nearest the fire (TS. v.i.3.4); agnis.t.hika_ fire-pan; agnis.t.ha fire-pan; agni-s'akat.i_ a vehicle carrying fire (A_pS'r.); agnis.t.ha placed near fire (S'Br. iii.7.2.4); in the As'vamedha sacrifice the eleventh yu_pa which is nearest the fire and to which the horse is tied; agny-aga_ra the place for keeping the sacred fire; agny-a_dhe_ya placing the fire on the sacrificial fireplace (AV. xi.7.8) (Vedic.lex.)an:ga_ra glowing charcoal (RV.); an:ga_raka (Skt.); in:ga_la (Skt.); an:ga_ra charcoal (Pali); am.ga_ra, am.ga_raya, am.ga_la, am.ga_laya (Pkt.); angar charcoal; vana_r, yangar (Gypsy); an.a_ fire (Ash.); an.a (Kt.); an.a_ (Gmb.); anege (Pr.); an:gar (Dm.); na_r (Tir.Chilis Gau.K.Psht.); an:ga_r (Pas'.); a~_r (Shum.Pas'.); an:ga_r (Gaw.Kal.Kho.Bshk.); an.a_ (Tor.); aga_r (Mai.); an:go_r (Phal.); aga_r, haga_r (Sh.); an.aru charcoal (S.); an:ga_r (L.); an:gya_r, an:gya_ra_ (P.); a~gea_r (EP.); an:ga_ro~, pl. an:ga_ra~ (WPah.); an.a_r, d.an.a_r (Ku.); an.a_r (N.); a_n:ga_r, en:ga_r (A.); a_n:ga_r, a_n.ra_ (B.); an:ga_ra (Or.); a~garwa_h man who cuts sugar-cane into lengths for the mill = pakwa_h (Bi.); am.ga_ra (OMth.); a~gor (Mth.); a~ga_r, a~ga_ra_ (H.); a~ga_r, a~ga_ro (G.); a~ga_r (M.); an:gura (Si.); a_r, a~_i_ fire (Wg.); an.ari_k charcoal (Wg.); in:gha_l.a glowing embers (Pali); im.ga_ra, im.ga_la, im.ga_laya (Pkt.); yen:gur charcoal (K.)(CDIAL 125).an:ki sun (Tirukka_l.at. Pu. 30,14); fire; agni (Kantapu. Pa_yira. 53); an:kicuma_li a deity representing the sun, one of the tuva_taca_tittar (Ta.lex.) axrna_ to warm oneself (by the fire, in the sun)(Kur.); awge to expose to the heat of the sun or fire; awgre to bask in the sun, warm oneself to a fire (Malt.)(DEDR 18).

Out of the rekindled coals comes Br.haspati, the pre-eminent Kavi; An:giras' come out of the coals.(ABr 3.34; Bibliotheca IndicaI ed., II, p. 156). In RV 1.83.4, An:giras' are called iddha_gnyah. An:giras' treat Br.haspati as one of them.

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Hiran.yastu_pa, Savyha, Kutsa, Va_madeva,Kan.va,Pajra, Maudgalya are an:girasa. Anukraman.ika_has about 45 namesbelonging to the an:girasa gotra. Vinaya Pit.aka (vol. I, p. 245) includes an:giraso along with Vessa_mitto, Yamataggi, Bha_radva_jo. Buddha (as Gautama) is an an:girasa (ibid., vol. I, p.25;cf. Journal of the Pali Text Society,1888, pp. 1-2; in RV 1.78.3 a Gotama invokes an:girasvat). "...the ritual of the agniciti has borrowed much from the custom of the An:giras. The spade with which the soil necessary for the ukha_ is dug is taken an:girasvat; the clay is dug an:girasvat and carried in the same way (TS 4.1.2-3)...The An:giras' are known already to the RV as Sa_ma singers. According to RV 10.108.8, they belong to the r.s.ayah somas'ita_h...They took part in breaking open the rock or cowshed and were Indra's assistants 1.51.3; 62.3; 71.2; 132.4; 2.11.20; 20.5; 4.2.15; 16.8; 51.4; 5.45.8; 6.17.6; 18.5...Like the An:giras' of the past, their descendants also sing. In TMBr 14.3.32, Aya_sya deprives the A_dityas of their foot by eating it and saves himself with Sa_mans...According to the Anukraman.i_ also Aya_sya is considered the author of RV 9.44-46 and 10.67-68. The last two hymns are dedicated to Br.haspati and at the same time praise An:giras' who assist Br.haspati. Aya_sya is mentioned in the RV itself: 1.62.7 (?); 10.67.1; 108.8 (where he is mentioned with the An:giras' and the Navagvas); he is one of the mythical progenitors of the An:giras clan..." (Hillebrandt, opcit., I, pp. 108-115).

Tvas.t.r. unifies with An;giras in RV 10.70.9; 1.186.6. An:giras' participate in the liberation of the cows from Vala's cave: RV 2.11.20; 15.8; as navagvas in RV 1.62.4

aya_sya agile , dexterous , valiant RV. ; m. N. of an An3giras (composer of the hymns RV. ix , 44-66 and x , 67 and 68) RV. x , 67 , 1 and 108 , 8 S3Br. xiv. cf. a

ayas = copper, metal (RV). Nirukta 11.19-20: An:girasas and our manes of ninefold gaits (navagatayo). Atharva_n.as and Bhr.gus, the soma-pressers: may we be in the goodwill of those holy ones, in the blessed favour of their minds. An:girasas and our manes of nine gaits, i.e. whose ways of going lead in nine directions. Atharva_n.as and Bhr.gus, the soma-pressers, i.e. who prepare the soma-juice. May we be in the goodwill, in theblessed will of the holy ones, in the auspicious, excellent, generous, or blessed favour of their minds. 'This refers to a group of atmospheric deities', say the etymologists. 'They are manes,' says the tradition. Moreover, seers are praised. Their splendour is dazzling like that of the sun, their greatness is unfathomed like that of the ocean, their speed is like that of the wind. Your hymn, O Vasis.t.has, cannot be imitated by any other. This is the (panegyric).

Atharvaveda hymns occur as atharva_n.a and an:girasas as well as atharva_n:girasa (Va_yu P 90,12; Bd. 3,65,12; Hv 25,1323). Atharva_n:girasa r.s.is began in the kingdom of Vais'a_li (North Bihar), among the Ma_nvas (not Aila). Bha_rgava Us'anas, the teacher of the non-Ailas (Daityas or Da_navas) is called Atharvan.a_m nidhi (Bd. 3,30,51-4 with MBh 1,76,3188-90 and Matsya P 25, 9-11).

"Atharvaveda. Sumantu divided it into two and taught it to Kabandha. Kabandha divided it into two again and gave one part to Pathya and the other to Devadars'a (or Vedaspars'a). The latter made four versions and taught them to his four disciples. Moda, Brahmabala, Pippala_da and S'aulka_yani. The Pathyas had three divisions, those of Ja_jali, Kumuda_di and a 'S'aunaka'. 'S'aunaka' made two sam.hita_s, and gave one to Babhru and the other to Saindhava_yana. Saindhava gave that to

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Mun~jakes'a and it was again made into two. The best vikalpanas of the sam.hita_s are the Naks.atrakalpa, Vaita_na, Sam.hita_vidhi, An:giras's kalpa and S'a_ntikalpa. (Va_yu P 61, 49-55; Bd. 2,35, 55-62; Vis. P 3,6,9-15; Ag 150,30; Bha_g 12,7,1-4)." (Pargiter, opcit., p. 325).

Dasyu were left behind on the left (i.e. the south)

A r.ca (RV 2.11.18) is used by some scholars to affirm that the Dasyu 'are said to be situated to their left (i.e. North)' in the course of the move of the A_rya into South Asia. (See Witzel, M., 1995, R.gvedic history: poets, chieftains and polities), in: George Erdosy, ed., *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, p. 339; a review of this article appears in: Shrikant G. Talageri, 2000, *The Rigveda: A historical Analysis*, New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan, Chapter 9 (Appendix 2): Michael Witzel -- An examination of Western Vedic Scholarship, pp. 425-476).

With the exception of R.ca 2.11.18, the r.cas cited DO NOT indicate any 'direction' of crossings or movements through passages. Only r.ca 2.11.18 has a reference to 'direction'. Any reference to 'mountains' does not automatically mean that the reference is to the mountains in Afghanistan or regions north of India. There are mountains (and passages) in Northwest India too. The only emphatic geographical reference is to the river Parus.n.i_ which is generally seen as the name of River Ravi (on the left bank of which is situated the archaeological site of Harappa). There are no archaeological sites attested on the right bank of the River Ravi.

The line in the r.ca is: apa_vr.n.or jyotir a_rya_ya ni savyatah sa_di dasyur indra The r.ca uses the word, 'savya' and not 'uttara'. Let us look at the lexical entries related to these two words. [In a lecture delivered at the World Association of Vedic Studies conference in New Jersey, USA on July 28th, Prof. Hock also noted that in Old Irish also the lexeme 'aither' means 'east' (lit. behind). The implication is that the r.ca does not prove his thesis of the movement of the A_rya from the 'west to east']. uttara normally refers to the 'north' and is not the word used in the r.ca. savya refers to the 'left hand' or 'on the left' and is also a term used to denote 'south', 'southern' or 'to the south'. Sa_yan.a interprets the r.ca to mean that Indra opened the light for the A_rya and the Dasyu was left behind on the left (savyatah). This could, thus, mean that the A_rya left behind the Dasyu on the 'south' as they moved from 'west to east'.

savya n. (accord. to Un2. iv , 109 fr. {sU} ; perhaps for {skavya} cf. Gk.) left , left hand ({am} , {ena} , {A} {e} , and ibc. ,`" on the left "') RV. &c. &c. ; opposite to left , right , right hand ; south , southern ({am} &c. , `" to the south "') , Suryas. VarBrS.

uttara northern (because the northern part of India is high) AV. Mn. Sus3r. Pancat. &c. ; left (opposed to {dakSiNa} or right , because in praying the face being turned to the east the north would be on the left hand) AV. KatySr. MBh. &c. ; later , following , subsequent , latter , concluding , posterior , future RV. AV. KatySr. MBh. Ragh. Hit. &c. (opposed to {pUrva} , &c. e.g. {uttaraH@kAlaH}

uttara crossing over ; to be crossed

> uttara_ north , northerly ; northward (with gen. or abl.) Pa1n2. Vop. ; ({uttarA-patha}) (Skt. Extracts from Cologne online lexicon)

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धिष्वा शवः शूर येन वृत्रम् अवाभिनद् दानुम् और्णवाभम् । अपावृणोर् ज्योतिर् आर्याय नि सव्यतः सादि दस्युर् इन्द्र ॥

2.011.18 Indra, hero, keep up the strength wherewith you have crushed Vr.tra, the spider-like son of Da_nu, and let open the light to the A_rya; the Dasyu has been set aside on your left hand. [The spider-like son of Da_nu: da_num aurn.ava_bham: aurn.ava_bham = aurn.ana_bham; aurn.a = a spider; a_bha = resembling].

Druhyu (among the 'five peoples') in R.gvedic tradition

The r.cas 1.108.7 and 8 note that Indra and Agni are adored by the Brahman, and the Ra_jan (Chiefs): the Yadu,Turvas'a, Druhyu, Anu, Pu_ru. Thus, the Yadu, Turvasa', Druhyu, Anu and Pu_ru are all fire-worshippers, the adorers of Agni. "...the mention of Yadu, Turvas'a (Turvasu), Druhyu, Anu and Pu_ru is generic, referring to the families and kings descended from them, and not to the progenitors themselves, who had passed away into tradition even then. Similarly as regards Bharata, his descendants are introduced, but he himself was a bygone figure."

(Pargiter, p. 61; all references are to Pargiter, F.E., 1922, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, repr. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass (1962), which is a veritable treasure-house of carefully collated Pu_ra_n.ic references).

Bhr.gu is the progenitor of the Druhyu; the r.ca 8.3.9 connects Bhr.gu with tye Yati.

तत् त्वा यामि सुवीर्यं तद् ब्रह्म पूर्वचित्तये ।
येना यतिभ्यो भृगवे धने हिते येन प्रस्कण्वम् आविथ ॥

8.003.09 I solicit you, Indra, for such vigour and for such food as may be hoped for in priority (to others), wherewith you have granted to Bhr.gu the wealth taken from those who had desired from sacrifices, wherewith you have protected praks.an.va. [Taken from those: yena yatibhyo dhane hite: yatibhyah = karmasu uparatebhyo yas'tribhyo janebhyo saka_s'a_d dhanam a_hr.tya, having taken the wealth from men not offering sacrifices, or ceasing to perform holy acts; the wealth given to Bhr.gu, for the benefit of the sages, the An:girasas].

The r.cas which refer to Druhyu are as follows:

यद् इन्द्राग्नी मदथः स्वे दुरोणे यद् ब्रह्मणि राजनि वा यजत्रा । अतः परि वृषणाव् आ हि यातम् अथा सोमस्य पिबतं सुतस्य ॥

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यद् इन्द्राग्नी यदुषु तुर्वशेषु यद् द्रुह्युष्व् अनुषु पूरुषु स्थः । अतः परि वृषणाव् आ हि यातम्
अथा सोमस्य पिबतं सुतस्य ॥

1.108.07 If, adorable Indra and Agni, you have ever been delighted (withlibations) in your own dwelling, in tha tof a Bra_hman.a, or in that of a prince, then, showerers of benefits, come hither from wherever you may be, and drink of the effused Soma libation. [yad brahman.i ra_jani va_: bra_hman.e anyasmin yajama_ne, a different institutor of a sacrifice, a bra_hman.a; ra_jani = ks.atriye, of a warrior].

1.108.08 If, Indra and Agni, you are amongst men who are in offensive, malevolent, or tyrannical, or those who live (to fulfil the duties of life), or those who receive the fruits (of good deeds), then, showerers of benefits, come hither from wherever you may be, and drink of the effused Soma libation.

[Men who are inoffensive, malevolent: the allusion may be to proper names or many families: yadus, turvas.as, druhyus, anus and purus, descendants of the five sons of yaya_ti (Maha_bha_rata I.138); yadu = ahimsaka, non-injurious; turvas.a = himsaka, injurious; druhyu = upadravecchu, tyrannical; anu = pra_n.air yukta, having breath or life; puru = ka_mai purayitavya, to be filled all of the objects of desire].

यद् वा तृक्षौ मघवन् द्रुह्याव् आ जने यत् पूरौ कच् च वृष्ण्यम् ।
अस्मभ्यं तद् रिरीहि सं नृषाह्ये ऽमित्रान् पृत्सु तुर्वणे ॥

6.046.08 Whatever vigour, Maghavan, (existed) in Tr.ks.u, in Druhyu, in Puru, bestow fully upon us in conflicts with foes, so that we may destroy our enemies in war.

अर्णांसि चित् पप्रथाना सुदास इन्द्रो गाधान्य् अकृणोत् सुपारा ।
शर्धन्तं शिम्युम् उचथस्य नव्यः शापं सिन्धूनाम् अकृणोद् अशस्तीः ॥
पुरोळा इत् तुर्वशो यक्षुर् आसीद् राये मत्स्यासो निशिता अपीव ।
श्रुष्टिं चक्रुर् भृगवो द्रुह्यवश् च सखा सखायम् अतरद् विषूचोः ॥

7.018.05 The adorable Indra made the well-known deep waters (of the Parus.n.i) fordable for Suda_sa, and converted the vehement awakening imprecation of the sacrificer into the calumnation of the rivers. [Converted the vehement: sardhantam s'imyum uchahasya s'a_pam sindhu_na_m akr.n.od as'asti_h = utsahma_na_m bodhma_na_m stotuh s'a_pam abhis'asti_h sindhu_na_m akarot, he made the exerting awakening curse of the praiser the imprecations of the rivers; vis'varu_podbhavam a_tmano abhis'a_pam, the imprecation on his (Indra) has its birth in vis'varu_pa].
7.018.06 Turvas'a, who was presiding (at solemn rites), diligent in sacrifice, (went to Suda_sa) for wealth; but like fishes restricted (to the element of water), the Bhrigus and Druhyus quickly assailed them; of these two everywhere going the friend (of Suda_sa, Indra) rescued his friend. [The legend: Indra saves one of the two, Suda_sa (and perhaps

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slays the other), turvas'am avadhi_t; matsyaso nis'itah, fishes limited to water; the people of the country Matsya were attacked by Turvas'a, tena matsyajanapada ba_dhitah; s'rus.t.im cakruh (applied to the Bhrigus) = as'upra_ptim cakruh; sukham turvas'asys cakruh-- making the Bhrigus and Druhyus the allies of Turvas'a].

द्वे नप्तुर् देववतः शते गोर् द्वा रथा वधूमन्ता सुदासः ।
अर्हन्न् अग्ने पैजवनस्य दानं होतेव सद्म पर्य् एमि रेभन् ॥
चत्वारो मा पैजवनस्य दानाः स्मद्दिष्टयः कृशनिनो निरेके ।
ऋज्रासो मा पृथिविष्ठाः सुदासस् तोकं तोकाय श्रवसे वहन्ति ॥
यस्य श्रवो रोदसी अन्तर् उर्वी शीर्ष्णेभशीर्ष्णे विबभाजा विभा ।
सप्तेद् इन्द्रं न स्रवतो गृणन्ति नि युध्यामधिम् अशिशाद् अभीके ॥

7.018.12 You, the bearer of the thunderbolt, did drown S'ruta, Kavas.a, Vr.ddha and afterwards Druhyu, in the waters; for they, Indra, who are devoted to you, and glorify you, preferring your friendship, enjoy it.

7.018.13 Indra, in his might, quickly demolished all their strongholds, and their seven (kinds of) cities; he has given the dwelling of the son of Anu to Tr.tsu; may we, (by propitiating Indra), conquer in battle the ill-speaking man. [Seven kinds of cities: purah sapta, seven cities; nagai_h sapta praka_rah or pra_ka_ra_h, seven-walled; conquer in battle: jes.ma pu_rum manus.yam mr.dhrava_cam, speaking imperfectly or barbarously; or baddhava_cam, whose speech is threatening, obstructing or adverse].

7.018.14 The warriors of the Anus and Druhyus, intending (to carry off the) cattle, (hostile) to the pious (Suda_sa) perished to the number of sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty; such are all the glorious acts of Indra. [Sixty-thousand: s.as.t.ih s'ata s'at. sahasra s.as.t.ir adhi s'at. = sixty hundreds, six thousands, sixty, with six more; s'ata_ni = thousands, sahasra_ni_tyartham].

यद् अद्याश्विनाव् अपाग् यत् प्राक् स्थो वाजिनीवसू ।
यद् द्रुह्यव्य् अनवि तुर्वशे यदौ हुवे वाम् अथ मा गतम् ॥

8.010.05 Whether, As'vins, you abide today in the west, whether opulent in food, you abide in the east, whether you sojourn with Druhyu, Anu, Turvas'u or Yadu, I invoke you, therefore, come to me.

The r.cas DO NOT indicate the locus of the Druhyus or Anus. One indication is however provided in RV 7.018.05 from which it may be surmised that the Suda_sa forded the River Parus.n.i (River Ravi on which is situated the archaeological site of Harappa). "The adorable Indra made the well-known deep waters (of the Parus.n.i) fordable for Suda_sa, and converted the vehement awakening imprecation of the sacrificer into the calumnation of the rivers." The next r.ca (RV 7.18.6) refers to a Turvas'a who attacks the country of Matsya and whose allies were Bhr.gu and Druhyu. There is a

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reference generally to the crossing of the streams by the Yadus and Tuvas'a in RV 1.174.9; 4.30.17; 5.31.8; 6.20.12 and RV 6.45.1. The 'crossings' could have been in any direction depending upon the streams involved.

> The crossing of the ocean and rivers is also mentioned in two identical r.cas (RV 6.20.12 and RV 1.174.9), a vivid recollection of the maritime and riverine paths traversed by the people:
>
> त्वं धुनि॑र् इन्द्र॒ धुनि॑मतीर् ऋ॒णोर् अ॒पः सी॒रा न स्रव॑न्तीः ।
>
> प्र यत् स॑मु॒द्रम् अति॑ शू॒र पर्षि॑ पा॒रया॑ तु॒र्वशं॒ यदुं॑ स्व॒स्ति ॥
>
> Two interpretations, based on Sa_yan.a:
> 6.020.12 You, Indra, who make (your enemies) tremble, have caused the waters, detained by Dhuni, to flow like rushing rivers; so, hero, when, having crossed the ocean, you have reached the shore, you have brought over in safety Turvas'a and Yadu. [samudram atiprapars.i = samudram atikramya pratirn.o bhavasi = when you are crossed, having traversed the ocean, you have brought across Turvas'a and Yadu, both standing on the future shore, samudrapa_re tis.t.hantau apa_rayah].
>
> 1.174.09 You, Indra, are the terrifier (of your foes); you have made the trembling waters overspread (the earth) like flowing rivers; but, hero, when you fill the ocean you have protected in their well-being Turvas'a and Yadu. [Like flowing rivers: si_ra_h na sravanti_h: si_ra_ may be a certain river; or river, in general; you have protected:pa_raya_ turvas'am yadum svasti: pa_raya = apa_layah, you have protected; svasti = avina_s'am, without loss or detriment; pa_raya = bear across, convey over in safety].

The association of Pu_s.an and Sarasvati_ can be explained: both divinities are connected with paths: one is concerned with the paths from the Heavens and the other is a riverine path linking to maritime regions; thus both Pu_s.an and Sarasvati_ are purveyors of 'paths' for the civilization. Pu_s.an is a_ghr.in.i, 'glowing'; he is gopa_, the herdsman (RV10.17.3;139.1). Pu_s.an's golden ships move across the oceans, move in the air as he goes as an envoy of Su_rya. (RV 6.58.3: ya_s te pu_s.an na_vo anta_h samudre hiran.yayi_r antariks.e caranti ta_bhir ya_si du_tya_m su_ryasya ka_mena kr.ta s'rava icchama_nah). Pu_s.an is offered the karambha, a gruel made from barley (grown on the banks of the River Sarasvati_): ya enam a_dides'ati karambha_d iti pu_s.an.am na tena deva a_dise (RV 6.56.1; cf.RV 3.52.7). A male goat is also offered to Pu_s.an (RV 1.162.3-4); he protects the cows and horses and knows all the paths: pathas pati (RV 6.53.1; he grants pathya_ svasti: RV 10.59.7; 17.5). He had a beard (RV 10.26.7) and braided hair (RV 6.55.2); a goad (as.t.ra_, lance: RV 6.53.9) was placed in his hand; RV 1.42.6 adorns him with a golden axe (hiran.yava_s'i) and a dagger (a_ra_: RV 6.53.5 pari_ tr.ndhi pan.i_na_m a_ra_ya hr.daya_; Amarakos'a notes (2.10.35) explains a_ra_: carma khan.d.ana_rthah s'astrabhedah) to pierce the heart of the enemies. "The worshippers of Pu_s.an lived in the vicinity of the Sarasvati_. Book VI takes us to the banks of the western Sarasvati_ and book VII, on the other hand, to the area of Kuruks.etra, to the holy Sarasvati_ of the middle country. There at the Arghandab in Arachosia, Vadhryas'va's son Divoda_sa fought against the Pan.is, Pa_ra_vatas and Br.saya, and the river of the country 'who consumed the Pan.is' (RV 6.61) stood by his side as a guardian deity. In the same book which thinks of the Pan.is with special hatred we see Pu_s.an 'who pierces the Pan.is' at the centre of the cult, and he is mentioned once in the Sarasvati_ hymn also (RV 6.61.6). Pu_s.an and Sarasvati_ occur side by side elsewhere too; RV 6.49.7 Sarasvati_; 8 Pu_s.an; RV 17.3-6 Pu_s.an;

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7-9 Sarasvati_; 65.1 (Va_yuh) Pu_s.a_ Sarasvati_. Their association has been continued especially in liturgical texts. (TS 1.2.2; 6.1.2.2: sarsvatyai pu_s.n.e gnaye sva_ha_; TBr 2.5.3.3 pu_s.a_ no gobhir avasa_ sarasvati_)."[Alfred Hillebrandt, 1927, *Vedische Mythologi*e, tr. Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma, 1980, *Vedic Mythology*, 2 vols. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 209-211]. Sarasvati_ is associated with the ancestors and hence is extolled in the Yamasam.hita_ (RV 10.17.7: sarasvati_m devyanto havante sarasvati_m adhvare ta_yama_ne sarasvati_m sukr.to ahvayanta sarasvati_ da_s'us.e va_ryam da_t). In R.ca RV 10.17.8 the Manes, approaching the yajn~a in the south, invoke Sarasvati_ (sarasvati_m ya_m pitaro havante daks.in.a_ yajn~a_m abhinaks.ama_n.a_h). AV 7.68.2 is emphatic in associated Sarasvati_ with the pitr.s: (AV 14.2.20: adha_ sarasvatyai na_ri pitr.bhyas' ca namas kuru).

Goat and sheep-rearing flourished in the mountains of Afghanistan, notes Hillebrandt. The reference to 'goats' in the context of Pu_s.an should not automatically link Sarasvati_ with Arachosia, Afghanistan. Faunal remains of goats and sheep have been found in the region close to Parus.n.i_, in NW India, Rajasthan. It may not be necessary to postulate two Sarasvati_s to explain the contextual references in Book VI and Book VII. The rationale for identifying Haraqvaiti (arachotos) as the earlier, western Sarasvati_,is based on flimsy grounds of rearing of sheep in Afghanistan. It would appear that sheep were reared in NW India, Rajasthan as well. Close to Parus.n.i_, in the Markanda valley, a lot of faunal remains, dated as early as to the Pleistocene period, have been recovered from the Upper Siwaliks in general and the neighbouring areas in particular. Mention has been made of frequent occurrence, about 2.48 million years ago, of *stegodon insignis ganesa, archidiskodon planifrons, elephas hysudricus, equus hysudricus, equus sivalensis, rhinoceros sivalensis, R. palaeoindicus, Sus sppp., camelus sivalensis, cervus spp., colossochelys atlas, geoclemys sivalensis, crocodylus spp.* and a host of other new forms (Badam, G.L., *Pleistocene Fauna of India*, Pune, Deccan College; SN Rajaguru and GL Badam,Late Quaternary Geomorphology of the Markanda Valley, Himachal Pradesh, in: BP Radhakrishna and SS Merh, eds., *Vedic Sarasvati*, 1999, Bangalore, Geological Society of India, p.149). An alternative view is that the word Haraqvaiti or harahvaiti itself travelled from India to Afghanistan, with the linguistic change of s'a, sa and s.a to ha, 'as we proceed from the traditional region of Madhya Des'a towards the west. To take only a couple of instances even now Sa_dhu is pronounced Hau, S'ivaji as Hibji, Sukhdeva as Hukhdeva, Das'a as Daha and Sa_huka_ra to Hauka_ra in dialects of Marwar...The same process operated in the evolution of S'aryan.a_ in the R.gveda later to Harya_n.a...The consistent operation of this linguistic process of the replacement of sibilants by 'ha' thus justifies the conclusion that the name Sarasvati_ also logically underwent the sameprocess in the westward journey and became Haraqvaiti or Harahvaiti in Arachosia.' (OP Bharadvaj, *Studies in Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 176-191; cf. *Vedic Index*, II, 364). The place name spelt as Taus.a_yan.a by Pa_n.ini change to Tohana at some later stage.(VS Agarwal, 1974, *India as known to Pa_n.ini*, 2nd edn., Varanasi, p.74).So, too the changes from asura to ahura (Isaac Taylor, 1980, *The Origin of Aryans*, Repr. Delhi, pp. 184-186) and Sindhu to old Persian Hindu (VS Agarwal, *Bharata ki maulika ekata_* (Hindi), Allahabad, p. 30f.; Tola Frernando and Dragonetti Carmen, 1986, India and Greece before Alexander, *ABORI*, vol. LXVII,pts. i-iv,pp.159-194). The strongest evidence for themigration westwards is the nameof the Croatians who are a people mentioned in the Behistun inscription as Hravaits, a derivative from Sarasvat--Haraqvait--Harahvait-kravat-croat region. Croats are Sarasvats!

Turvas'a

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त्रिंशच्छतं वर्मिण इन्द्र साकं यव्यावत्याम् पुरुहूत श्रवस्या ।
वृचीवन्तः शरवे पत्यमानाः पात्रा भिन्दाना न्यर्थान्य् आयन् ॥
यस्य गावाव् अरुषा सूयवस्यू अन्तर् ऊ षु चरतो रेरिहाणा ।
स सृञ्जयाय तुर्वशम् परादाद् वृचीवतो दैववाताय शिक्षन् ॥
द्वयाअग्ने रथिनो विंशतिं गा वधूमतो मघवा मह्यं सम्राट् ।
अभ्यावर्ती चायमानो ददाति दूणाशेयं दक्षिणा पार्थवानाम् ॥

6.027.06 Indra, the invoked of many, thirty hundred mailed warriors (were collected) together on the Yavya_vati_, to acquire glory, but the Vr.ci_vats advancing in a hostile manner, and breaking the sacrificial vessels, went to (their own) annihilation. [Thirty hundred: trim.s'ac chatam varmin.ah = trim.s'ada dhikas'atam, one hundred and thirty; kavacabhr.tas, wearers of breasplates or armour; yavya_vati_ = same as hariyu_pi_ya]. 6.027.07 He whose bright prancing horses, delighted with choice fodder, proceed between (heaven and earth), gave up Turvas'a to Sr.n~jaya, subjecting the Vr.ci_vats to the descendant of Devava_ta (Abhya_vartin). [Sr.n~jaya: there are several princes with this name in the pura_n.as; one of them, the son of Haryas'va, was one of the five Pa_n~ca_la princes; the name is also that of a people, probably in the same direction, the northwest of India, or towards the Punjab (Vis.n.u Pura_n.a)].

6.027.08 The opulent supreme sovereign Abhya_vartin, the son of Ca_yama_na, presents, Agni, to me two damsels riding in cars, and twenty cows; this donation of the descendant of Pr.thu cannot be desroyed. [Two damsels: dvaya_n rathino vim.s'ati ga_ vadhu_mantah = rathasahita_n vadhu_matah stri_yukta_n dvaya_n mithunabhu_ta_n, being in pairs, having women together with cars; twenty animals, pas'u_n; perhaps, the gift comprised of twenty pairs of oxen yoked two and two in chariots; the gift of females to saintly persons; this donation: du_n.a_s'eyam daks.in.a_ pa_rthava_na_m = na_s'ayitum as'akya_; pa_rthava: Abhya_vartin, as descended from Pr.thu, the plural is used honorifically].

[Alt. for RV 6.27.7 and 8: Hillebrandt. 'He gave Turvas'a to Sr.n~jaya, and, being helpful, gave the Vr.ci_vats to Daivava_ta. Two chariot-horses, twenty pairs of cattle gave me the noble prince Abhya_vartin Ca_yama_na. Not everyone receives such a gift of Pa_rthavas." (Vedic Mythology, Vol. 1, p. 474)].

> An alternative view is presented (Shrikant G. Talageri, 2000, The Rigveda: A historical analysis, Delhi, Aditya Prakashan, p. 141): 'Abhya_vartin Ca_yama_na is an Anu king, and he clearly appears as a hero in VI.27. However, it is equally clear that this is only because he is an ally of the Bharata kign Sr.njaya: his descendant Kavi Ca_yama_na who appears (though not in Griffith's translation) in VII.18.9 as an enemy of the Bharata king Suda_s, is referred to in hostile terms.'

Two other r.cas refer to the Turvas'a (RV 7.18.6 and 8.4.19); the r.ca 7.18.6 places them in opposition to the Bhr.gu and Druhyu.

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पुरोळा इत् तुर्वशो यक्षुर् आसीद् राये मत्स्यासो निशिता अपीव ।
श्रुष्टिं चक्रुर् भृगवो द्रुह्यवश् च सखा सखायम् अतरद् विषूचोः ॥

7.018.06 (R.s.i of the r.ca is: Vasis.t.ha Maitra_varun.i_) Turvas'a, who was presiding (at solemn rites), diligent in sacrifice, (went to Suda_sa) for wealth; but like fishes restricted (to the element of water), the Bhrigus and Druhyus quickly assailed them; of these two everywhere going the friend (of Suda_sa, Indra) rescued his friend. [The legend: Indra saves one of the two, Suda_sa (and perhaps slays the other), turvas'am avadhi_t; matsyaso nis'itah, fishes limited to water; the people of the country Matsya were attacked by Turvas'a, tena matsyajanapada ba_dhitah; s'rus.t.im cakruh (applied to the Bhrigus) = as'upra_ptim cakruh; sukham turvas'asys cakruh-- making the Bhrigus and Druhyus the allies of Turvas'a].

स्थूरं राधः शताश्वं कुरुङ्गस्य दिविष्टिषु ।
राज्ञस् त्वेषस्य सुभगस्य रातिषु तुर्वशेष्व् अमन्महि ॥

8.004.19 (The r.s.i of the r.ca is: Deva_thiti Ka_n.va) We acknowledge the substantial wealth (of the gift) of a hundred horses, the donation made to us among men at the holy solemnities of the illustrious and auspicious Ra_ja_ Kurun:ga.

Druids

Were the Druhyus connected with the Druids? There is no material archaeological evidence to establish the link, but there are some pointers as to the nature of functions performed by Druids in the first millennium BC in Europe.

The Druids were the priests of the Celtic people. Peter Barresford Ellis, 1994,The Druids, Eerdmans, William B. Publishing Company, notes several parallels between Vedic and Druid ritual.

> "At the dawn of the Iron Age, various tribes, known later as the Celts, emerged from a prehistoric complex of related peoples. This complex includes the 'Corded Ware' or 'Battle Ax' people(ca. 2300 B.C.E.)--who are believed,by linguists, to be the first Indo-European speakers to enter central Europe--, and the'Urnfield' peoples (ca. 1200 B.C.E.). Two thousand (plus) Iron Age graves were discovered in the area of Hallstatt, a vast prehistoric cemetary in Austria.It yielded long heavy swords, daggers, axes, caldrons, pottery, and jewelry with striking geometric and animal motifs. Also discovered, were sumptuous graves including wagon burials,(to speed the warrior to the 'otherworld'). Burials found in the Danube area contained wine amphorae made in Massalia(Marseille)-- which had been founded by the Phoenicians, and controlled by the Greeks since 600 B.C.E.-- along with gold spoons. Garments embroidered with silk were discovered in a Hallstatt stronghold, the 'Heuneburg', a site near Wurttemberg. These people, linked by language, religion, and culture gave rise to the first civilization north of the Alps. They emerged as a distinct people in the eighth C. B.C.E.--about the time 'Homer' was composing his "Iliad", and "Odyssey". They introduced iron to northern Europe for tools and weapons much more efficient than bronze."

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http://alphasector.com/isis/Celts.txt

"The etymology of the word "Druid " is no longer an unsolved problem. It had been suggested that the latter part of the word might be connected with the Aryan root VID, which appears in "Wisdom"' in the Latin videre, &c., Thurneysen has now shown that this root in combination with the intensiye particle dru would yield the word dru-vids, represented in Gaelic by draoi, a Druid, just as another intensive, su, with vids yields the Gaelic saoi, a sage." [Celtic Folklore website:

http://www.belinus.co.uk/folklore/RollestonchapII.htm]

"The Celts were iron-workers, ahead of most other contemporary cultures. Iron-age technology helped the Celts defeat the Dannans (who worked bronze). Around Arthurian times, it was discovered that nickel-iron from meteorites could be used to create stainless steel, and swords layered with this metal would never bend, scratch, break, nor rust. Weapons like that would have been seen as magical, and would have developed names and reputations independantly...Reports say that in the schools of the druids, they learn by heart a great number of verses, and therefore some persons remain twenty years under training. And they do not think it proper to commit these utterances to writing, although in almost all other matters, and in their public and private accounts, they make use of Greek letters...The cardinal doctrine which they seek to teach is that souls do not die, but after death pass from one to another; and this belief they hold to be the greatest incentive to valor, as the fear of death is thereby cast aside." (1998, Brendan Myers).

http://www.uoguelph.ca/~bmyers/druid.html

Movement of the Druhyus from the Panjab into Ga_ndha_ra

See the chart and synopsis of Aila kingdoms shown in Pargiter, p. 294:

Puru_ravas AIla -- 1. Aila of Pratis.t.ha_na and 2. Ailas of Kanyakubja; From Ailas of Pratis.t.ha_na -- AIlas of Pratis.t.ha_na and AIlas of Ka_s'i and then: Ya_davas, Turvasu, Druhu, Anava and Paurava and so on.

"Puru_ravas was succeeded by A_yu at Pratis.t.ha_na, and another on Ama_Vasu founded another kingdom, the capital of which was then or afterwards Ka_nyakuba (Kanauj) (First mentioned as the capital in Ga_dhi's time, MBh. 5,118,4005). A_yu was succeeded by Nahus.a...His son and successor Yaya_ti was a renowned conquerer (Va_yu 93,90; Bd., 3,68,19,92; Matsya 24,55-6; Lin:ga P. 1,67,13; Br. 12,4,18; Hv 30,1602,1616; MBh 12,29,987. Yaya_ti Na_hus.a is often mentioned). He appears to have conquered not only all Madhyades'a west of the Ayodhya_ and Ka_nyakubja kingdoms, and north-west as far as the River Sarasvati_ (RV 7,95,2; MBh 9,42,2349-52; cf. Br.hadd 6,20-4), but also the country west, south, and south-east of his territory of Pratis.t.ha_na (MBh 5, 113, 3905 rightly makes Pratis.t.ha_na his capital). He had five sons, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Pu_ru. After a long reign he divided his territories among them...The texts collated show that Yadu got the south-west, Turvasu the south-east, Druhyu the west and Anu the north. (Va_yu 93, 88-90; Bd. 3,68,90-2; Kur 1,22,9-11; Lin:ga P. 67, 11-12. They suggest the following text: abhis.icya tatah pu_rum sva-ra_jye sutam a_tmanah dis'i daks.in.a-pu_rvasya_m turvasum tu nyaves'ayat daks.in.a_parato ra_ja_ yadum jyes.t.ham nyaves'ayat prati_cya_m uttarasya_m ca druhyum ca_num ca ta_V ubhau)...The chief development occurred among Yadu's descendants, who

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increased and divided at once into two great branches, the Haihayas and Ya_davas. Subsequent occurrences show that the Ya_dava branch occupied the northern portion of Yadu's territory and the Haihayas the southern part.

"...The kingdom o Ayodhya_ then rose to very great eminence under Yuvana_s'va II ad especially his osn Ma_ndha_tr. (Called Mandha_tr. in Rigveda). The latter married S'as'abindu's (Ya_dava king's) daughter Bindumati_...He (Ma_ndha_tr.) must have overrun the Ka_nyakubja kingdom and the prostrate Paurava realm (For he sacrificed on the RIver Jumna -- MBh 3,125,10421 -- which was in Paurava or A_nava territory), because, pushing beyond them westwards, he had a long contest with and conquered the Druhyu king, who appears to have been then on the confines of the Panjab (He sacrificied in the country afterwards called Kuruks.etra (id. 126, 10467), which was Druhyu or A_nava land then); so that the next Druhyu king Ga_ndha_ra retired to the north-west and gave his name to the Ga_ndha_ra country. (Va_yu 99,9; Bd. 3, 74,9; Hv 32, 1839; Br 13, 150-1; Matsya 48,7). Ma_ndha_tr. had three sons, Purukutsa, Ambari_s.a and Mucukunda. Tradition suggests that Ma_ndha_Tr. or his sons carried their arms south to the river Narmada_..." (Pargiter, pp. 258-262).

Ma_ndha_tr. of Ayodhya_ had a long war with the Druhyu king Aruddha (Va_yu 99, 7-8; Bd. 3,74,7-8) or An:ga_ra (Hv 32, 1837-8; Br 13, 149-50) and killed him. (MBh 3,126,10465, where he is called 'king of Ga_ndha_ra; cf. Pargiter, p. 167).

"The movements among the A_navas and Druhyus seem to have been connected. The A_navas rose to power about the time under two able kings, Maha_s'a_la and Maha_manas, and the latter appears to have encroached on the east of the Panjab, because he is styled a cakravartin and lord of the seven dvi_pas. (Va_yu 99, 16-17; Bd. 3,74,15-16; Matsya 48,14. If, as seems probable, dvi_pa here means 'doab', he might well have been lord of the northern portions of the seven doabs from the River Gomati_ north-westwards). Under his two sons, Us'i_nara and Titiks.u, the A_navas divided into two branches. One branch headed by Us'i_nara established separate kingdoms on the eastern border of the Panjab, namely, those of the Yaudheyas, Ambas.t.has, Navara_s.t.ra and the city Kr.mila_; and his famous son S'ivi Aus'inara originated the S'ivis in S'ivapura and, extending his conquests westwards founded through his four sons the kingdoms of the Vr.s.adarbhas, Madras (or Madrakas), Kekayas (or Kaikeyas) and Suvi_ras (or Sauvi_ras), thus occupying the whole of the Panjab except the north-west corner. The Druhyus ruled in the Panjab at that time, so that S'ivi and his sons must have driven tem back into that corner, which became known as Ga_ndha_ra after the Druhyu king Ga_ndha_ra. THere the Druhyus maintained their position permanently, and it is said that five generations afterwards they began to multiply and in time founded many principalities in the mleccha countries in the northern region beyond India.. The other branch of the A_navas under Titiks.u moved eastward and, passing beyond Videha and the Vais'a_li_ country, descended into East Bihar among the ruder Saudyumna stock. THere they founded a kingdom, which was called the kingdom in the east, and which afterwards developed into An:ga and four other kingdoms...." (Pargiter, p. 264).

Ila_, Sudyumna and Kimpurus.a

"...Ila_ became a Kimpurus.a named Sudyumna, a man one month and a woman another month. According to the second form, Manu had nine sons and offered a sacrifice to Mitra and Varun.a to obtain a son, bu a daughter Ila_ was born thereform. She met Budha and bore Puru_ravas. Then she became a man named Sudyumna but through the same curse was turned into a woman. Finally, through S'iva's favour she regained manhod as Sudyumna....Puru_ravas was thus fabled to be the son of Ila_ or Ila by Budha, and was well known as Aila. Sudyumna had three sons,

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two of whom were Utkala and Gaya, and third is named Harita_s'va or Vinata_s'va or shortly Vinata." (Pargiter, p. 254).

सम् अ॑स्मि॒ञ् जाय॑मान आस॒त ग्ना उ॒तेम् अ॑वर्धन् न॒द्यः स्वगू॑र्ताः ।
म॒हे यत् त्वा॑ पुरूरवो॒ रणा॒याव॑र्धयन् दस्यु॒हत्या॑य दे॒वाः ॥

10.095.07 (U_rvas'i_). As soon as he was born the wives (of the gods) surrounded him, the spontaneously flowing rivers nourished him, for the gods reared you, Puru_rava_, for a mighty conflict, for the slaughter of the Dasyus.

इति॑ त्वा दे॒वा इ॒म आ॑हुर् ऐ॒ळ यथे॑म् ए॒तद् भव॑सि मृ॒त्युब॑न्धुः ।
प्र॒जा ते॑ दे॒वान् ह॒विषा॑ यजाति स्व॒र्ग उ॒ त्वम् अपि॑ मादयासे ॥

10.095.18 (U_rvas'i_). These gods said to you, Ail.a, since you are indeed subject to death, let your progeny propitiate your gods with oblations, you shall rejoice (with me) in heaven.

"...the Aila stock, which began in a small principality at Allahabad, had dominated the whole of North India and down to Vidarbha, with the exception of the three Ma_va kingdoms of Ayodhya_, Videha and Vais'a_li_; and these had been influenced by the AIlas. So it is said, the earth was dominated by the five races (vam.s'a) descended from Yaya_ti (cf. Matsya 24,20-1; Pad. 5,12,72). This result agrees exactly with the Aryan occupation of India, so that what we call the Aryan race is what Indian tradition calls the Aila race, and so AIla = Aryan. The Saudyumna stock would no doubt be the Mun.d.a_ race and its branch the Mo_n-Khme_r folk in the east (Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, 4, pp. 8, 21); and in the intervening region it would have been subjugated by the A_nava occupations...The Ma_nva stock, which held all the rest of India including the above three kingdoms, seems naturally to declare itself Dravidian..." (Pargiter, p. 295).

"Atharva_n:girasa rishis began in the kingdom of Vais'a_li_, that is among the Ma_nvas and not the Ailas." (Pargiter, p. 319).

A_yu, who ruled from Pratis.t.ha_na, had five sons. One of them was Nahus.a whose kingdom was also ruled from Pratis.t.ha_na (Allahabad). "Nahus.a had six or seven sons by pitr.-kanya_ viraja_...Only two sons are important, Yati and Yaya_ti. Yati the eldest became a muni and gave up the kingdom, and Yaya_ti succeedd to it. Yaya_ti had two wives, Devaya_ni_ daughter of the great Bha_rgava rishi Us'anas-S'ukra, and S'armis.t.ha_ daughter of the Daitya-Da_nava-asura king Vr.s.aparvan. The former bore two sons, Yadu and Turvasu, and the latter three, Druhyu, Anu and Pu_ru. Yaya_ti divided his territories among them, so that his kingdom developed into five kingdoms, and from his sons were descended the five famous royals lines of the Yadus or Ya_davas, the Turvasus, the Druhyus, the Anus or A_navas and the Pu_rus or Pauravas. Yadu had five or fou sons, but only two are important, Sahasrajit (or Sahasra_da) and Kros.t.u (or Kros.t.r.). WIth them the Ya_davas divided into two great branches. Sahasrajit's descendants were named after his grandson Haihaya and were well known as the Haihayas. Kros.t.u's descendants had no special name, but were known popularly as the Ya_davas. The A_navas after Anu's seventh named successor Maha_manas divided into two branches under two sons Us'i_nara and Titiks.u. THe former branch established various kingdoms in the Panjab,

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and the latter founded a dynasty in East Bihar. The Pauravas gradually developed and established a number of kingdoms in Madhyades'a." (pp. 86-87).

Anu

Anu is a term often seen in combination with the Druhyu; both Anu and Druhyu appear as combatants hostile to the Bharata or Pu_ru.

In the r.ca RV 5.31.4 (R.s.i Avasyu A_treya), the term, 'anavas te' is sometimes interpreted as a reference to 'Anu'. Sa_yan.a interprets this as a reference to 'men' and applies it to the r.bhu. In this r.ca, the Anu (or r.bhu) may be explained as making a ratha for Indra. One surmise is that the Anu refer to Bhr.gu (Griffith).

अनवस् ते रथम् अश्वाय तक्षन् त्वष्टा वज्रम् पुरुहूत द्युमन्तम् ।
ब्रह्माण इन्द्रम् महयन्तो अर्कैर् अवर्धयन्न् अहये हन्तवा उ ॥

5.031.04 The R.bhus have fabricated your car, Indra, the invoked of many, adapted to its horses; Tvas.t.a_ (had made) your radiant thunderbolt; the venerable (An:girasas), praising Indra with hymns, have given him vigour for the destruction of Ahi. [The R.bhus: anavah is the text, explained manus.yah and applied to r.bhavah; the venerable an:girasas: bra_hman.a_h, bra_hman.as is the text, explained as an:girasah].

Similarly, the reference in r.ca RV 6.62.9 (R.s.i: Bharadva_ja Ba_rhaspatya) is ambiguous; the term use is, 'a_nava_ya' which again is interpreted by Sa_yan.a as a reference to 'men' and of course, seen in hostility with the Bharata.

य ईं राजानाव् ऋतुथा विदधद् रजसो मित्रो वरुणश् चिकेतत् ।
गम्भीराय रक्षसे हेतिम् अस्य द्रोघाय चिद् वचस आनवाय ॥

6.062.09 Mitra and Varun.a recognize him who of all the world worships the royal (As'vins) in due season; he hurls his weapon against the strong ra_ks.asa, against the malignant menaces of man. [drogha_ya cid vacase a_nava_ya = abhidroha_tmaka_ya manus.yasambhandine vacana_ya eva].

The following r.ca (R.s.i: Gopavana A_treya) is a reference perhaps to an 'Anu' invoking Agni (an apparent reference to Bhr.gu as the initiators of the sacred fire). The reference is to a person named S'rutarva_n, son of R.ks.a.

आगन्म वृत्रहन्तमं ज्येष्ठम् अग्निम् आनवम् ।
यस्य श्रुतर्वा बृहन्न् आर्क्षो अनीक एधते ॥

8.074.04 We have come to that most excellent Agni, mightiest destroyer of the wicked, the benefactor of men, in whose army (O rays) S'ruvava_n, the mighty son of R.ks.a, waxes great. [...who with his host of rays is kindled in S'rutarva_n, the son of R.ks.a].

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Thus, while Anu and Druhyu may be seen as names of two groups of people, both in the context of participating in the yajn~a and some times seen as hostile to the Pu_ru or Bharata, it is possible to interpret them as descendants of Bhr.gu.

Maha_vrata

Maha_vrata is a significant vrata in the series of yajn~a mentioned in the R.gveda. It is postulated that this vrata is relatable to the vra_tya tradition of Bha_rata. Maha_vrata or vikr.ti occurs on vis.uvat (makarasam.kraman.a or winter solstice); karkasam.kraman.a or summer solstice (vis.uvat) was prakr.ti. TMB (4.10.3) recounts how vis.uvat was transferred to the maha_vrata day. Keith notes that the festival of swing and Kr.s.n.a worship (Ma_gha s'ukla 14) are remnants of the Maha_vrata, a celebration of the sam.vatsara (year) equating garutman with the sun. (RV 7.87.5 describes the sun as a golden swing).

There is a lexeme in Santali which may be concordant with Vedic 'vrata' indicating the indigenous evolution of the tradition of vrata as a code of conduct and as a vow to be observed. rada = a row, a line, a course, as of bricks on wall; radha corok = a contrivance by means of which Hindu devotees, and at times also Santals, swing as a religious observance (Santali.lex.)

Maha_vrata is the last day but one of the Gava_mayana Sattra which represented the whole year. The middle day was the vis.uvat or summer solstice and the last day but one was the Maha_vrata or the winter solstice. The rites are related to the increase of the sun's heat after the solstice. [gava_ can be interpreted as 'earth' and hence, gava_mayana connotes the reference to the winter solstice which records the apparent shift, in relation to the earth, in the motion of the sun.]

Some typical activities on this ancient festival day were: warriors fully armed would pierce with arrows the stretched skin of a barren cow. On a rough hide, an a_rya and a s'u_dra wrestle. The Ma_rjali_ya fire is lit and maidens carrying jugs of water on their heads encircle the fire. Maithuna is an attempt to produce fertility as a form of sympathetic magic. Music by drumming is played accompanied by obscene language to drive away the demons.

Maha_vrata is a remarkable example of the continuity of the civilization and culture on the banks of the Sarasvati_. Maha_vrata is the day of the winter solstice which is celebrated as the New Year's Day in Punjab, Assam and Tamil Nadu (cf. Festivals of Rohri, Bogali Bihu, Bhogi-Pongal; the tradition is to burn out the old and herald the new by using the fresh produce from the harvest.) Aitareya a_ran.yaka is an integral component of the Rigveda. The a_ran.yaka has three books: (1) the first book explains the maha_vrata as a ritual and as an allegory and described the 'sastras of the morning, midday and evening libations of the maha_vrata day of the gava_mayana; (2) the second book explains the allegory of the uktha, which is the nis.kevalya s'astra (midday s'astra as the pra_n.a or purus.a); the second book also has the superb upanis.ad (adhy_ayas 4-6); (3) the third book discusses the mystic meaning of the various forms of the text of the sam.hita_, the nirbhuja, pratr.n.n.a and ubhayamantaren.a, and of the vowels, semi-vowels and consonants. These terms are used to described the sam.hita_, pada and krama pa_t.has of the sam.hita_. The fourth book has maha_na_mni_ verses to be studied in the forest. The fifth book has the nis.kevalya s'astra of the midday libation of the maha_vrata. The fifth book is attributed to S'aunaka (ca. 500 B.C.) who is anterior to Pa_n.ini by about 100 years. (A.B.Keith, 1909, *Aitareya A_ran.yaka*, Oxford, Clarendon Press).

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"Now begins the Maha_vrata rite. Indra having slain Vr.tra became great. When he became great, then there came into being the Maha_vrata." (Sa_yan.a explains the term mah_vrata: maha_n bhavaty anena vratena or mahato devasya vratam or mahac ca tad vratam. (Aitareya A_ran.yaka I.1)

"In the Maha_vrata ceremony there are twenty-five verses to accompany the kindling of the fire." (Aitareya A_ran.yaka: V.1)

Maha_vrata is an agnis.t.oma and has the morning, midday and evening pressings of the Soma.. The fire-altar is in the shape of a bird. The activity of the Hotr. in the Maha_vrata rite is recorded only in the Aitareya A_ran.yaka and the S'a_n:kha_yana A_ran.yaka. The activity is shrouded in total secrecy. "The Adhvaryu brings up the vessel containing the libation and the (three) atigra_hya bowls. As soon as he perceives the food, the Hotr. Descends from the swing towards the east. Then they tie up the swing to the west that it may not slay the reciter when about to eat. For the Hotr. eats seated on the place of the swing. Then the Hotr. consumes the (libation in the) vessel with the words uttered in response, 'May speech, the deity, rejoice in the Soma,' 'May Soma, the king, shower life on me for my breath,' 'May my breath milk mightily all life… At the proper time they should carry the swing to the bath, and burn together the seats.' " (Aitareya A_ran.yaka : V.3,2) As it is completed, the vedi and the br.si_s are both consumed by fire.

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Maritime, riverine trade in Vedic Times

The maritime/riverine nature of the Sarasvati Sindhu civilization is borne out by the archaeological finds of contacts with Sumeria, particularly in the trade of copper/bronze weapons exported from ancient India.

Rigveda has a number of allusions to the use of boats.

The vedic people had used ships to cross oceans: anarambhan.e... agrabhan.e samudre... s'ata_ritram na_vam... (RV. I.116.5; cf. VS. 21.7) referring to as'vins who rescued bhujyu, sinking in mid-ocean using a ship with a hundred oars (na_vam-aritraparani_m). There is overwhelming evidence of maritime trade by the archaeological discoveries of the so-called Harappan civilization, which can now be re-christened: Sarasvati-Sindhu civilization. Some beads were reported to have been exported to Egypt from this valley (Early Indus Civilization, p. 149); Sumerians had acted as intermediaries for this trade (L. Wooley , The Sumerians, pp. 46-47; cf. Ur Excavations, vol. II, pp. 390-396).which extended to Anatolia and the Mediterranean.

Boats drown in the river Sarasvati when the river was in spate (RV. 6,61,3); Devi Aditi comes in a boat for the reciters to board (RV. 10,63,10); Soma, the king of the waterways, who covers the universe as a cloth, has boarded the boat of sacrifice; the su_rya descends the heavens on a boat (RV. 1,50,4; 5,45,10; 7,63,4; 10,88,16,17). Sudasa built an easily pliable boat to cross the Purus.n.i river (RV. 7,18,5); Agni is a boat which carries the sacrificers over the difficult path of sacrifice (RV. 1,9,7, 7-8: 5,4,9); Agni is the boat of the reciters in troubled times (RV. 3,29,1), to ford enemy lines (RV. 3,24,1); Agni is the carrier-boat of oblations to the gods (RV. 1,128,6); Agni is the boat of all wishes (RV. 3,11,3); Indra was like a ferry-boat (RV. 8,16,11); Indra protected the boats (RV. 1,80,8); Indra is invoked to carry the reciters over the ocean of misfortune (RV. 3,32,14); Indra takes the reciters in his boat across the ocean (RV. 8,16,11); Indra saved the ship-wrecked Naryam, Turvasu, Yadu, Turviti and Vayya (RV. 1,54,6); Indra-Varun.a sail on the boat on the celestial ocean (RV. 7,88,3); Purus.an's golden boat moves on the sky (RV. 6,58,3) Varun.a's boat will carry the reciter on to the mid-ocean of the sky (RV. 7,88,3); Maruta helped the reciters to cross the ocean of war in a boat (RV. 5,54,4); Maruta was compared to a tempestuous ocean in which had sunk a laden ship (RV. 5,59,2); there are references to: house boat (RV. 1,40,12); long boat (RV. 1,122,15); well-furnished boat with oars (RV. 10,101,2); boats carrying foodgrains for overseas markets (RV. 1,47,6; 7,32,20; 7,63,4); boats fit to cross the ocean with oars (RV. 1,40,7); ocean-trading boats (RV. 1,50,2). [See also Swami Sankarananda, Hindu States of Sumeria, Calcutta, K.L.Mukhapadhyay, 1962 for the story of Bhujyu who was the son of a king named Tugra (a worshipper of As'vina) whose boat was sunk in the mid-ocean, p. 32].

Riches are obtained from the samudra (i.e. by maritime trade) (RV. 1,47,6); there were two winds on the ocean, one to put the boat to the seas and the other to bring it to shore (RV. 10,137,2).

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तिस्रो द्यावो निहिता अन्तर् अस्मिन् तिस्रो भूमीर् उपराः षड्विधानाः ।
गृत्सो राजा वरुणश् चक्र एतं दिवि प्रेङ्खं हिरण्ययं शुभे कम् ॥

7.087.05 In him are deposited the three heavens, the three earths with their six seasons are shown in him; the most adorable, royal Varun.a has made this golden sun undulating in the sky, he has made it to diffuse light. [The three earths: best, middle most, worst; tisro bhu_mi_rdha_rayan cf. RV. 2.027.08: trayo va_ ime trivr.to loka_h (Aitareya Bra_hman.a 2.17); he has made it to diffuse light: s'ubhe kam = di_ptyartham; kam = sukham].

Vrata, Harmya, Gra_ma, Nagara

In a remarkable article, Louis Renou,1939, "La maison védique", *Journal Asiatique*], explains the "process of building" and "techniques of construction" of shelters made for domestic and ritual purposes. The *Sadas* hut is Prajâpati's belly. The *Udumbara* wood is strength (life-sap). When the *Udumbara* pillar is erected in the middle of the *Sadas* hut, one thereby places food, life-sap, in the middle. The central pillar of a house or of a sacrificial *Sadas* is identical with the axis mundi which is placed in the navel of the earth. “Renou looks first for "practical aspects of houses in the Vedic period" in a layer of texts on ritual (Gr.yasûtras) that in passing deal with "the rites that accompany house construction". From these he learns about materials - bamboo, thatch, straw mats, rope - ; orientation and organization; and process - post holes, binding, etc. He then tests his understanding of constructional terms and procedures by looking at a further set of texts that deal with the staging of sacrifice and ritual (Shrautasûtras), where sheds and huts used in ritual performance are described. "In spite of their special role, these shelters provide valuable information concerning the process of building". Some of these sheds shelter priests, the sacrificial platform, or chariots. He finds in the descriptions given in these texts additional practical terminology for roof systems, cross-beams, etc., and in the directions and timing of ritual some confirmation of the processes of construction.” (From the Preface by Michael Meister).

Renou, however, does not expand on the use of the terms, 'harmya' and 'gra_ma' which provide a wider basis for understanding the nature of the houses and settlements in which R.gvedic people lived.

http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati/aryan/vedic.html

> vis' is the term used in the R.gveda to connote a tribe or a habitation. Inhabitant; neighbour: gram-bes'u neighbour (Kho.Kal.); ve_s'a inhabitant, neighbour (RV.); vis' tribe, habitation (RV.)(CDIAL 12124). ve_s'a habitation (VS.)[= vis' : ve_s'a_n dha_raya (VS.) ~~ vis'a_m. dhartr. (RV.)](CDIAL 12125). ve_s'anam a house; entering, entrance; ve_s'aka house; ve_s'yam abode, residence (Vedic) (Skt.lex.)
>
> http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati/Indian%20Lexicon/house.htm
>
> vis' = dwelling (RV 4.2.3; vis'a a_ ca marta_n = and hither to the dwellings of mortals; race, stock (RV 8.63.7: yat pa_n~cajanyaya_ vis'a_ = prajaya_; settlement, people, peasants; vis'ah ks.atriya_ya balim haranti (S'Br.) = the peasants pay tribute to the prince; vis' = to enter, arrive, settle down (RV 9.85.7); vis'pati = lord of the house, chief of a

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settlement or a tribe (RV 1.27.12); vis'patni_ = mistress of the house, protectress of men (sini_va_li_)(TS 3.1.11.4); vis'pala_ = banished from settlement or tribe, a name (RV 1.112.10); vis'pala_ vasu = kindly to vis'pala_ (RV 1.182.1); vis'ya = of the settlement or a tribe (RV 10.91.2); cf. durga; a man of the third caste (AV 6.13.1) (Vedic.lex.) [cf. durga narrow passage, citadel RV 8.93.10 (Vedic.lex)]

[Agni is adored as he lord of men, vis'a_m kavim, vis'patim; the use of the word, 'kavi' is significant; elsewhere, the word has been explained as connoting a 'smith' an artisan engaged in metallurgy: vis'patim vis'a_m s'as'vati_na_m: the epithet is explained, nitya_na_m r.tvig yajama_na laks.an.a_na_m, i.e., their regular and perpetual observance of religious institutes].

http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati/rigveda/rvbook6.htm See RV 6.1.8

Let us understand the nature of the settlements of the Vedic culture by surveying the semantics of some key lexemes within the context of vis' which may be interpreted as a cluster of settlements, or in general, connoting a people:

8. vrata
9. harmya
10. gra_ma, nagara

vrata

The lexeme, 'vrata' can also be interpreted in the context of settlements. 'Vrata' is used as a generic designation for 'people' and with particular reference to 'guilds' as in the use of the word, 'nigama' linked with 'gra_ma'. It may be postulated as a hypothesis that the term, 'vrata' connoted the set of settlements which were fortified and where the a_yudha-ji_vi-s and armourers lived in a ha_rmya, where the fire-places abounded to smelt mineral ore; the later-day association of 'vrata' with 'ma_gadha' also re-inforces this link with people engaged in metallurgical activities since magadha was close to the mineral-rich region in Bihar where the people migrated after the desiccation of the River Sarasvati:

vrata N. of one of the seven islands of Antara-dvi1pa ; (of unknown meaning) AV. v , 1 , 7 A_pS'r.S.. xiii , 16 , 8 ; N. of a son of Manu and Nad.vala BhP. ; (pl.) N. of a country belonging to Pra_cya ; mfn. = {e.g., veda-vrata} , one who has taken the vow of learning the Veda Gr.S. ii , 3 (Sch.) vra_ta a multitude , flock, assemblage , troop , swarm , group , host ({vrAtaM} {vrAtam} , in companies or troops ; {cf. pan~cavra_ta-s} , the five races of men) , association , guild RV.; the company or attendants at a marriage feast W. ; = {manus.ya} Naigh. ii , 3 ; the descendant of an out-caste Bra1hman &c. (= {vra_tya}); n. manual or bodily labour, day-labour ib. [Source: Online Cologne Sanskrit Lexicon]

There is a reference to 'pan~ca jana' or 'pan~ca kr.s.t.i' (lit. five furrows) in the R.gveda. This indicates that agricultural practices of the 'five peoples' differentiated the five groups: Anu, Druhyu, Puru (and successors, Bharata), Yadu (Yaks.u),Turvas'a. [In Avestan tradition, the seven groups recognized are called: karevars, a reference again, to the 'working classes', smiths.] Note: The Old Tamil tradition divides the peoples into five

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artisan classes: otl kammALan2 kammALan2 smith, mechanic, artisan, of five castes. Also, kaNNALan2 kaNNALan2 means a smith, an artisan.

Dadhikra_ spreads his force over the 'five furrows, or five (working) classes', pan~ca kr.s.t.i_:

आ दधिक्राः शवसा पञ्च कृष्टीः सूर्य इव ज्योतिषापस् ततान ।

सहस्रसाः शतसा वाज्य् अर्वा पृणु मध्वा सम् इमा वचांसि ॥

4.038.10 Dadhikra_ has spread abroad the five classes of beings by his strength, as the sun (diffuses) the waters by his radiance; may he, the giver of hundreds and thousands, associate these praises with agreeable (rewards).

Thus, the lexeme, 'vrata' might have connoted a group of houses lived in by 'vra_tya' or chariot-makers, carpenters and other artisans. The parallel with the nature of the settlements in the Sarasvati Sindhu civilization archaeological settlements is striking and will have to be investigated further in the context of repeated references by archaeologists of many settlements as 'citadels', and 'fortified settlements'. The massive brick-walls which make up the fortifications in many settlements have to be explained in the context also of the nature of the 'forts' built-up during historical periods in the Sindhu-Sarasvati River Basins.

It is likely that, as the inscribed objects get interpreted firmly as conveying lists of bronze-age weapons, arms and armour as property items and as bills of lading prepared by armourers, these parallels between the Vedic culture and the Civilization area will unravel further as armed camps and armouries.

Harmya, pur

In Tamil, 'akam' means an abode (antaka_rattaiyorakama_kki: ta_yu. Paripu_ran.a (Katirvel Pil.l.ai Tamil. lex.) In contrast with this lexeme, 'puram' is interpreted as a 'marutanilattu_r' or 'u_r' , a town in a fertile plain or a town in general. There is another lexeme in Tamil: pur-am which is interpreted as a place (por-ippur-amat.anat.aiman~n~ai: Tirumur.; pur-ampan.ai = kur-in~cinilam or mountain-field; or, field outside of the town in maruta-nilam; mullai-nilam or forest-field; pur-am: vet.ci = preliminary lifting of the enemy's cattle and confining them in a pen in one's own country (Ta.lex.). This contrast necessitates a further elucidation of the nature of the settlement connoted by a 'pur'; it is suggested herein that a 'pur' was a 'harmya', a fortified settlement, an area outside of the personal abode.

Poss. deriv. from or cognate with the following two Vedic and Munda semant. clusters:

Semant. Cluster 1

harmya [Germ. xerma, Av. zairimya] bhavana, a large home, palace, mansion RV 7.;55.6; harmyes.t.ha_ = pra_sa_da niva_si_; dwelling in a house RV 7.56.16; TS 4.3.13.7 (Suryakanta Vedic.lex.) harmiya (metr.) = large house (RV.); hammiya = large building with an upper story (Pali); hammia (Pkt.); hamiya palace (Si. EGS 189) < Pali (CDIAL 13998) harmya = temple or pavilion (LL) (Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p. 126).

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The German and Avestan lexemes can be explained by deriving the word, 'harmya' from 's'aran.a' shelter (R.gveda). caran., caran.am = shelter, refuge, asylum (Tiruva_ca. 30,6); caran.am = a town in agricultural tract; house; pipal (Ta.lex.) caran.i < saran.i = path (Ar..akarkala.25); caran.iyan < s'aran.ya = saviour (as.t.ap. ar..akar. 47)(Ta.lex.) The Tamil lexemes and cognates attest to the antiquity of the Vedic s'aran.a = home.

hammiya = Bskt. harmika_ summer house (Divy. 244); customarily given as 'a long, storied mansion which has an upper chamber placed on the top', a larger building, pa_sa_da, (store-house: Vin. 1.58.96, 239; 2.146: with viha_ra, ad.d.hayoga pa_sa_da, guha_ as the 5 lena_ni): 152,195; Miln. 393; hammiya-gabbha = a chamber on the upper storey (Vin. 2.152)(Pali.lex.)

s'aran.a = shelter, home (RV); protecting (Skt.); saran.a = protection, shelter, house (Pali.Pkt.); s'ero_n roof (D.Sh.); s'aran (Dm.); saran. = protection, asylum (P.); saran (H.); sarn.u~ = help (G.); saran.a = defence, village, town (Si.); s'ara_n = courtyard of a house (Kho.); s'ara_n.u = fence (Sh.); s'en = roof (Wot.); s'an (Bshk.); s'a_n (Phal. AO18.251); s'anni_ = small room in a house to keep sheep in (WPah.)(CDIAL 12326). cf. s'a_rika_ = a form of Durga_ (Skt.); ho_ri_ name of a goddess as a form of Durga_ (K.)(CDIAL 12407). [cf. Note the association of Durga_ with 'fortified' settlements.] saran.a = to hide, as in Latin celo; Old Irish celim; OHG.AGS helan, Goth huljan to envelop; saran.a = shelter, house; refuge, protection; s'arman = shelter, house (Skt.)(Pali.lex.) But see saran.a (adj.) sa+ ran.a = concomintant with war (Pali.lex.)

s'aran.a = shelter, abode (RV 6.50.3: br.had rodasi_ s'aran.am interpreted as gr.ham)(Vedic.lex.); s'aran.a = protecting (RV 7.101.2: tridha_tu s'aran.am s'arma yamsat (Vedic.lex.)

Semant. Cluster 2

hamar, hamor = a granary, a store house for grain (Santali.lex.) [cf. the so-called 'granary' in Harappa]. Synonym: murai = a granary or grain store (Santali.lex.) hamram = abundant, copious, lacking nothing (Santali.lex.)

or.ak = a house, dwelling place, home, family, to erect a house; catom or.ak = a pavilion roofed house; gud.i or.ak = a house without gables; kot.ha or.ak = a house with a ceiling of timber and earth; dolan or.ak = a brick and mortar house with a flat roof, a palace; or.akte sen akanae = he has gone home (Santali.lex.)

Semant. Cluster 3

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aga_ra = house (Vedic.lex.) aga_ra = a house or hut, usually implying the comforts of living at home as opp. to anaga_ra homelessness or the state of a homeless wanderer (mendicant); a_gantukaga_ra reception hall for strangers or guests; ku_t.aga_ra a house with a peaked roof or with gables; kot.t.haga_ra storehouse, granary; santhaga_ra a council hall; aga_raka a small house, a cottage; aga_rika having a house; aga_rika_ a housewife; aga_rin one who has or inhabits a house, a householder; aga_riya = aga_rika a layman (Pali.lex.) House; refuge; stay: agha_ra house (A_s'v.Gr..); a_ga_ra (Mn.Pali.Pkt.); a_ga_raka (Pali); aga_ra, ga_ra (Pkt.)(CDIAL 52). {Echo word} akam + ar-a inside + room; cf. akam agricultural tract (Ta.)(Ta.lex.) akam house (Ta.)(DEDR 7). agraha_ra > akkiraka_ram Bra_hman village or street (M.M.); akkira_ram id. (Ta.); a_ka_racamitai < a-gha_ra + samidh two pipal twigs dipped in ghee and placed one at the north-east and the other at the
south-east corner of the gr.hya sacred fire (Ci_vaka. 2464, Urai)(Ta.lex.)
House: agva_r.a_ the space in front of a house (P.); agua_r, agua_ra_ (Bi.); agwa_r.a_ (H.); agva_r.u~ (G.)(CDIAL 80). Allotted village: akkiraka_ram Bra_hman village or street; village formerly allotted to Bra_hmans at a favourable assessment or rent free; akkira_ram Bra_hman street (Tan-ippa_.); akkiraca_lai feeding-house for Bra_hmans (Insc.); akkiraca_laippur-am endowment in the shape of land to provide a feeding-house for Bra_hmans (Insc.)(Ta.lex.) aku-ta_r < haq-da_r (U.) holder of a right, one in whom any property, perquisite or privilege is vested (Ta.lex.)

House: a_ra (cf. a_ga_ra (Skt.) a dwelling place (Ka.); cf. ki_ra_ra, ki_la_ra (cf. ks.i_ra_ga_ra milk-house, dairy), kot.t.a_ra (granary or warehouse), gu_d.a_ra (tent), daval.a_ra (cf. dhavala_ga_ra a house whitened with chunam or stucco, a palace), de_va_ra (the dwelling of the gods or of an idol; heaven; a temple), bi_d.a_ra (a halting or dwelling-place, a house), bhan.d.a_ra (store-house) (Ka.)(Ka.lex.) cf. ar-u (ar-uv-, ar-r--/ar-unt-) to abide, dwell; ar-ai place of encampment, camp (Ta.); ar-uppu to keep, preserve, secure (Te.)(DEDR 317). cf. har protect; hare0ra- care (Av.); sa_rtra asylum, abode (Skt.); sattra id. (Skt.); sa_tri_ den (WPah.)(CDIAL 13363). cf. harmiya large house (RV.)(CDIAL 13998).

http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati/Indian%20Lexicon/house.htm

Skt. lexicon cites that 'harmya' might have connoted originally the domestic fire-hearth and goes on to add: a large house , palace , mansion , any house or large building or residence of a wealthy person RV. &c. &c. ; a stronghold , prison RV. v , 32 , 5 ; viii , 5 , 23 ; a fiery pit , place of torment , region of darkness , the nether world MW. ; mfn. living in houses ib.ha_rmya is a word used in Taittiri_ya A_ran.yaka.

Harmya, a word with a very broad meaning ("house and its dependencies" or "large house; castle") is a poetic term not found often in the Mahâbhârata, from which it passed into the common language. Other words are less clear, such as veshman or okas; sadas does not seem to designate a particular type of construction. Finally, there is pastya, "residence."

http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati/aryan/vedic.html [Louis Renou, *Vedic House*]

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7285.Gold; shine, lustre:bharma gold; bharma-harmya a mansion of gold; bharmya gold (Ka.); bhan:ga_ra, ban:ga_ra gold; brahmasva property (money, lands etc.) belonging to bra_hman.as; cf. barma (Tadbhava of brahma) baramade_s'a, Birma, Burma (Ka.lex.) pan:ka_ru < ban:ga_ru (Te.) gold (Ta.)(Ta.lex.) ba_nga_r gold; some kinds of gold are: poun, sta_mbol, kurza_t (Kon.lex.) ban:ga_r, ban:ga_ro gold (Tu.lex.) bhra_s' to shine, glitter, blaze (Skt.lex.) bhramara shine, lustre (Ka.lex.) bharmam wages, hire; gold; bharman gold, gold coin; wages, hire; support, maintenance (Skt.); bharman.ya_ wages, hire (Skt.lex.)

Thus, bharma-harmya can also be a semant. expansion of the idea of support, maintenance.

Some r.ca-s which re-inforce this interpretation of 'harmya' are as follows:

5.032.05 You have discovered, Indra, by his acts, the secret vital part of him who thought himself invulnerable, when, powerful Indra, in the exhilaration of the Soma, they have detected him preparing for combat in his dark abode.

ससस्तु॑ मा॒ता सस्तु॑ पि॒ता सस्तु॒ श्वा सस्तु॑ वि॒श्पतिः॑ ।
स॒सन्तु॒ सर्वे᳚ ज्ञा॒तयः॒ सस्त्व् अ॒यम् अ॒भितो॒ जनः॑ ॥
य आ॒स्ते॒ यश् च॒ चर॑ति॒ यश् च॒ पश्य॑ति नो॒ जनः॑ ।
तेषां॒ सं ह॑न्मो अ॒क्षाणि॒ यथे॒दं ह॒र्म्यं᳚ तथा॑ ॥

7.055.05 Let the mother sleep let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the son-in-law sleep, let all the kindred sleep, let the people (who are stationed) around sleep. [Let the son-in-law: sastu vis'pati: ja_ma_tr., the master of all; gr.hi, the householder].
7.055.06 The man who sits, or he who walks, or he who sees us, of these we shut up the eyes, so that they may be as unconscious as the mansion.

अत्या॑सो॒ न ये म॒रुतः॒ स्वञ्चो᳚ यक्ष॒दृशो॒ न शु॒भय॑न्त॒ मर्याः॑ ।
ते ह॑र्म्ये॒ष्ठाः शिश॑वो॒ न शु॒भ्रा व॒त्सासो॒ न प्र॑क्री॒ळिनः॑ पयो॒धाः ॥

7.056.16 The swift-moving Maruts are like rapid horses, shining like men gazing at a festival innocent as children in the (paternal) mansion, frolicsome as calves, they are the dispensers of water.

त्यं चि॑द् अस्य॒ क्रतु॑भिर्॒ निष॑त्तम् अम॒र्मणो᳚ वि॒दद् इद् अ॑स्य॒ मर्म॑
यद् ई᳚ सुक्षत्र॒ प्रभृ॑ता॒ मद॑स्य॒ युयु॑त्सन्तं॒ तम॑सि ह॒र्म्ये᳚ धाः ॥

5.032.05 You have discovered, Indra, by his acts, the secret vital part of him who thought himself invulnerable, when, powerful Indra, in the exhilaration of the Soma, they have detected him preparing for combat in his dark abode.

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परि॑ द्यु॒क्षं सह॑सः पर्व॑ता॒वृध॒म् मध्वः॑ सिञ्चन्ति ह॒र्म्यस्य॑ स॒क्षणि॑म् ।
आ यस्मि॒न् गावः॑ सुहु॒ताद॒ ऊध॑नि मू॒र्धञ् छ्री॒णन्त्य् अ॑ग्रि॒यं वरी॑मभिः ॥

The powerful exhilarating Soma-juices besprinkle Indra who dwells in heaven, the augmenter of the clouds, the destroyer of the dwelling (of the foe); in whom on account of his greatness, the cows, the eaters of the oblations, mix the best (of their milk contained) in the uplifted udder. [The clouds: Or, mountains; in whom: Indra is here regarded as soma pavama_na; varimabhih = urutvair mahattvaih].

The interpretation of RV 9.71.4 thus makes Indra, who is puram.dhara also as harmyasya saks.an.i or destroyer of harmya; it is, therefore, reasonable to deduce that 'harmya' connoted a cluster of houses within a fortified area, the pura or even, nagara.

Gra_ma, nagara

sam.gra_ma battle (Nir. 3.9) sam.gra_ma assembly of people, battle (AV.); san:ga_ma battle (Pali); sam.ga_ma (Pkt.); san:gam (Si.)(CDIAL 12853)

http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati/dictionary/2863TO.HTM House: ku_t.a a house, dwelling (Skt.lex.) kaut.a living in one's own house, hence, independent, free; kaut.ika-taks.a (opp. to gra_ma-taks.a) an independent carpenter, one who works at home on his own account and not for the village (Skt.lex.) gra_ma-ku_t.a = village chief (Skt.lex.) nigama a small town, market town (opp. janapada); often combined with -ga_ma, si_ma (Pali.lex.); ga_ma a collection of houses, a hamlet [vedic. gra_ma heap, collection, parish]; a habitable place, a parish or village having boundaries and distinct from the surrounding country; in size varying, but usually small and distinguished from nigama, a market town; ga_ma nigama ra_jadha_niyo, ga_ma-nigama=nagara-rat.t.ha-janapada; ga_ma-kamma that which is to be done to, or in a village; ga_ma-vara an excellent village (Pali.lex.) Bazaar street; accessories: nigam the way of the traders (Sat. xxvi.9); to come to, get (RV. x.10.11) (Vedic.lex.) nigamam town, city; street, thorough-fare (Kantapu. Tati_ciyut. 83); bazaar; trade; a caravan of merchants (Ta.); niyamam town, city (Ci_vaka. 2601); temple (Cilap. 14,8); bazaar street (Maturaik. 365); street; place, location; a hall (Perun.. Vattava. 2,73); ne_makam hall, residence (Kon.t.alvit.u. 58) niyama-gama large village (Si.)(CDIAL 7159)

http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati/Indian%20Lexicon/country.htm

nagara-guttika the town-watchman, the chief constable (Pali.lex.) cf. kot.t.akai shed with sloping roofs (Ta.)(DEDR 2058)

http://www.hindunet.org/saraswati/Indian%20Lexicon/house.htm

'Pur' in the Vedas and the parallels in settlements of Sarasvati Sindhu Civilization

Dehi_ may mean earthwork or dikes thrown to defend against an enemy. (RV 6.47.2; 7.6.5; 7.99.5).

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S'arad is a season of autumn, a time of ripening; the term is also used poetically to 'years' (comparable to vars.a). In such a metaphorical usage, s'a_radi_ pur may connote a fort of 'years' or a fort rich or mature in years or a long-standing fort. In RV 1.174.2 and 6.20.10, s'arman (house) is used together with s'a_radi_ pur (fort). A house sheltering heroes needs protection: pa_hi nah s'arma vi_ravat (RV 9.64.18). Varu_tha (protective wall: cf. tridha_tu varu_thya: triple-walled habitation: RV 8.47.10) is sought for s'arman with maghavan (heroes). (RV 1.58.9).

S'arman offers protection like birds with their spread-out wings (RV 8.47.23); this simile indicates that s'arman, house had wide protective roofs. In RV 5.46.5 s'arma pu_s.ota no yamad varu_thyam the term, varu_thya may represent an enclosure – a protective rampart [fr. root vr. to cover]-- of a house. "Concurrent occurrence of pur and s'arman on one hand, and that of the latter with s'aran.a on the other, seem to be good candidates for three separate divisions of a intricately fortified multi-divisional settlement th elike of which may be seen in the Harappan city of Dholavira. Upto stage IIIA the citadel, the then lower town (later, middle town) and the annexe – yet another fortified one – all within an outer vallation made the three divisions. Later, in stage IIIB and through IV and V, the first together with the newly founded lower town formed the three rincipal components of a multi-divisioned city of which two more fortified components have since been confirmed by the recent excavation. Kalibangan too seems to be having three divisions of which that part which makes the third mound lying to the south of the citadel has never received its due acknowledgment for no explicable reason…In this perhaps lies the kernel of the tripura story – the three cities built by Maya of gold, silver and iron for the three Asura brothers and subsequently by S'iva. In fact, the constituent metals symbolically suggest their relative importance and prosperity." (ibid., p. 415). Literally, tri-dha_tu (in tridha_tu varu_thya) can be interpreted to mean three elements or metals: gold, silver, bronze (or iron).

The incipient concept of a godess Durga_ as a protector of the fort is seen in the use of the term, varu_tri_ in the R.gveda. Tvas.t.r is implored to protect: varu_tri_bhih sus'aran.o no astu tvas.t.a_m sadatro vi dadha_tu ra_yah (RV 7.34.22); **Varu_tri_** are implored to protect: asma_n varu_tri_h s'aran.airavantu (RV 3.62.3).

Vi durga_ vi dvis.ah puro ghna_nti ra_ja_nam es.a_m nayanti durita_ tirah

RV 1.41.3 In this r.ca durga_ is associated with pur indicating a stronghold, impregnable or difficult to pass. Gods are invoked as ra_jan (kings) to destroy the pur and durga of enemies. The word durga is also used in association with duron.a (RV 4.28.3: durge duron.e kratva_ na ya_ta_m puru sahasra_ s'arva_ ni barhi_t); duron.a may be a reference to a building with doors. Thus, durga connotes the meaning of inaccessibility. It is also possible that durga and pur are two different types of fortified walls of a settlement.

Pur = f. (in nom. sg. and before consonants {pu_r}) a rampart , wall , stronghold , fortress , castle , city , town (also of demons); the body (considered as the stronghold of the {puruSa}(Skt.lex.) Monier-Williams notes that the probable derivation could be from the root verb pr., 'to protect', which occurs in Dha_tupa_t.ha 25.4 (Monier-Williams: 645). Vedic Index (I, p. 538) also notes: "Pur is a word of frequent occurrence in the Rigveda and later, meaning 'rampart,' 'fort,' or 'stronghold.' Such fortifications must have been occasionally of considerable size, as one is called 'broad (pr.thvi_) and 'wide' (urvi_) (RV 1.189.2). Elsewhere a fort 'made of stone' (as'manmayi_) is mentioned. Sometimes strongholds 'of iron' (**Note added: a_yasi_, may connote a general term for metal**) is mentioned, but these are probably only metaphorical. A fort 'full of kine' (gomati_) is

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mentioned (RV 4.30.20), showing that strongholds were used to hold cattle. ‘Autumnal’ (s’a_radi_) forts are named, apparently as belonging to the Da_sas; this may refer to the forts in that season being occupied against A_ryan attacks or against inundations caused by overflowing rivers (RV 1.131.4; 174.2; 6.20.10). Forts ‘with a hundred walls’ (s’atabhuji) are spoken of (RV 1.166.8; 7.15.14)….Pischel and Geldner (*Vedische Studien*, 1.22,23, where ks.iti dhruva_ RV 1.73.4 is compared), however, think that there were towns with wooden walls and ditches like the Indian town of Pa_t.ali_putra known to Megasthenes and the Pa_li texts. (**Note the ditch excavated at Hili in Oman**)…The siege of forts is mentioned in the Sam.hita_s and Bra_hman.as (TS 6.2.3.1; ABr. 1.23; S’Br. 3.4.4.3-5; GBr. 2.2.7). According to the Rigveda, fire was used. (RV 7.5.3; **Note: the fire-temple at Dashly, Hili and other sites of Arabian Peninsula**)." [Notes in bold added.]

Bisht notes that in a Ja_taka the towers of salients are compared to the raised arms of a city wall; hence, the term s'atabhuji in R.gveda can refer to the salients or bastions of a fort. (R.S. Bisht, Harappans and the R.gveda: Points of convergence, in: G.C. Pande, ed., 1999, The Dawn of Indian Civilization upto 600 BC, Delhi, Centre for Studies in Civilizations, pp.393-442; fn. 128, p. 429).

Para_pur and nipur (which occur in Va_jasneyi Sam.hita_ and Atharvaveda: Av 18.2.28) "seem to stand for two different types of towns or two different divisions denoting to upper and lower towns of a single settlement." (ibid. p. 407).

The epithets qualifying forts are: ["The exuberance of adjectives having varied meanings perhaps strongly suggests the existence of numerous A_ryan pur-s of different size, form, strength and use" (ibid., p. 413).]

as’manmayi_ (stone: RV 4.30.20) and
a_yasi_ (metal: RV 1.58.8; 4.27.1; 7.3.7; 7.95.1; 8.89.8; 10.101.8), the other qualifying
dr.l.ha_ (solid: RV 5.19.2; 6.20.7; 6.32.3), [dr.l.ha_ occurs as a common noun for a ‘strong pur’ which is shattered by Indra: RV 4.31.2; 5.39.3; 5.86.1; 6.22.6; 6.43.3; 8.40.1; 8.45.13; 9.34.1]
dr.m.hita_ (strong: RV 7.18.13; 7.99.5),
adhr.s.t.a_ (impregnable: RV 10.101.8),
mahi_ (spacious: RV 7.15.14; 7.53.1; 8.6.23), is.a (affluent or possessing food: RV8.6.23), partr. (protective: RV 7.16.10),
s’ubhra_ (radiant: RV. 5.41.12),
bhadra_ (auspicious: RV 8.69.7), [Bisht notes that, in later times, bhadra_ was the term given to the citadel where the king resided (p. 412)].
martyatra_, devatra_ (of soldiers, of divinities (Note the term maryanni in Mitanni texts: RV 7.52.1),
·na_rmin.i_ (man-friendly RV: 1.149.3)
·caris.n.u (mobile – of Sus.n.a: RV 8.1.28)
·adevi_ (RV 1.174.8)
·da_si_ (RV 1.103.3; 4.32.10)
·da_sapatni_ (RV 3.12.6)

s’arman is distinguished from pur; s’arman according to Naighan.t..u (3.4) means, ‘a house’. Thus, Agni is like a king whose soldiers are settled in pur and s’arman as firmly as a woman is bound to her husband: RV1.73.3).

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Indra is pu_rpati, lord or protector of forts. (RV 1.173.10); he is purah stha_tr. , who establishes forts (RV8.46.13); he is purol.ha_, bearer of forts (RV 7.18.6).
Purohitr. or purohiti or purodha_ is the act of performing the office of purohita; it may also mean a helper of pur or a priest of the fort, just as purojitr. (RV 9.101.1) means the act of conquering of forts.
Indra destroys the strong cities of the asura-s:
'friendly with his friends (the An:gi_rasa-s, far-seeing with the far-seeing, the destroyer of cities has demolished the strong cities (of the asuras)' (RV 6.32.3: purah puroha_ sakhibhih sakhi_yan dr.l.ha_ ruroja kavibhih kavih san).
Indra helped Pu_ru capture s'a_radi_pur:
(pu_ravah puro yadindra s'a_radi_rava_tirah : RV 1.131.4).
Seven s'a_radi_pur belonged to the da_sa and Danu and were subjugated for Purukutsa (perhaps a king of Pu_ru) (RV 6.20.10: pra pu_ravah stavanta ena_ yajn~aih sapta yatpurah s'arma s'a_radi_rdaddhana da_si_h purukutsa_ya s'iks.an); (RV1.174.2: dano vis'am indra mr.dhrava_cah sapta yatpurah s'arma s'a_radi_rdat).
S'ambara had pur which were broken open by Indra after killing S'us.n.a, Pipru, Kuyava and Vr.tra (RV 1.103.8; 7.99.5; 6.31.4). Divoda_sa Atithigva was given the hundredth pur to live in. (RV4.26.3).
Protection of pur was an important prayer (signifying that the r.s.i-s who saw the r.ca-s were living in such pur):
Vis'vedeva_h to make cattle-enclosure protected by guards, to make armour, to build impregnable pur (RV 10.101.8).
Agni to grant spacious pur for offsprings and sons (RV6.48.8)

Sarasvati_ to be a firm, metallic fort (RV 7.96.2: sarasvati_ dharun.ama_yasi_pu_h)
Ka_t.haka Upanis.ad (5.1) refers to eka_das'a-dva_ra (pura or citadel of eleven doors) and S'veta_s'vatara Upanis.ad (3.18) refers to nava-dva_ra-pura (citadel of nine doors); on interpretation is that the count of gates is relatable to the body and not to a fort.. S'Br. (11.1.1.2.3) refers to a gate of a city. It is notable that SSVC archaeology has revealed fortified settlements with multiple gates.

A_ma_ (RV 2.35.6) may refer to a mud-brick fort or wood-fort.

Gra_ma

Gra_ma in the R.gveda is used often as referring to an inhabited village; in RV 10.146.1, the term, gra_ma may also be interpreted as referring to a group of people in a place (perhaps a village). It is only in the Atharva Veda that the term gets interpreted as a 'troop' in the context of references to samiti (a reference to the gathering of nobles and the king). In RV 2.12.7 and 10.127.1, the use of the plural may indicate the interpretation of 'gra_ma' as inhabitants or people, in general.

Only one phrase used in RV 3.33.11 including, 'gra_ma' has led to the possible interpretation of gra_ma as a horde (troop) in seeking cattle (gavyan gra_ma is.ita). These people are impelled by Indra (indraju_tah). Indra is referred to as the protector of cows, gopa_.

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In RV 3..33.11, Bharata are referred to as **gavyan gra_mah** (horde seeking cows). Sa_yan.a also seems to interpret the phrase, 'gavyan gra_mah' as 'troop'. sam.gra_ma is interpreted as an armed band, war, battle in AV 4.7.5, 4.24.7; 5.21.7; 11.9.26.
Gavya = gavis.t.i (lit. desire of cows). In many passages, this desire of cows is extended to include conflicts or battle to represent cattle raids. [RV 1.91.23; 3.47.4; 5.63.5; 6.31.3; 47.20; 59.71; 8.24.2; 9.76.2).

gavya = consisting of cattle or cows , coming from or belonging to a cow (as milk , curds; cattle; cow-herd; gavya_ is semant. extended to mean 'desire for cattle'. This is further stretched to interpret 'gavyan' as a troop desiring cattle.

Gavya_ is also similarly interpreted (RV 7.18.7). An alternative interpretation is possible that the term gavya_ or gavyan connotes pasture, gavyu_ti. It is logical for Bharata-s to search for pastures for their cattle across streams. In RV 7.18.7, the reference to gavya_ is in the context of Indra recovering cattle from the plunderers after a battle. Hence, the confusion caused by interpreting gavyan gra_ma as a horde or troop.

आ पक्थासो भलानसो भनन्तालिनासो विषाणिनः शिवासः ।

आ यो ऽनयत् सधमा आर्यस्य गव्या तृत्सुभ्यो अजगन् युधा नॄन् ॥

(vasis.t.ha maitra_varun.i) 7.018.07 Those who dress the oblation, those who pronounce auspicious words, those who abstain from penance, those who bear horns (in their hands), those who bestow happiness (on the world by sacrifice), glorify that Indra, who recovered the cattle of the Arya from the plunderers, who slew the enemies in battle. [Those who dress: Denominations of the persons assisting at religious rites are: 1. paktha_sah, havis.am pa_cakah, cooks of the butter offered in oblation; 2. bhala_nasah, bhadra va_cinah, speakers of that which is lucky; 3. alina_sah, tapobhir apravr.ddhah, not eminent by austerities; 4. vis.a_n.inah, having black horns in their hands for the purpose of scratching kan.d.uyana_rtham, the same as di_ks.itah, having undergone the preliminary purification called di_ks.a; 5. s'iva_sah, ya_ga_dina_ sarvasya lokasya s'ivakarah, the makers happy of all people by sacrifice and the like].

"Gra_ma and maha_gra_ma two other significant R.gvedic terms which more usually denote two different kinds of settlements. The former has been taken as an inhabited place, village or hamlet as well as a multitude or troop (Monier Williams.p.373). While in one verse, Rudra is solicited 'thathealth may be enjoyed by bipeds and quadrupeds and that all beings in this village may be (well-) nourished and exempt from disease,' (RV 1.114.1), in the other, Indra, as a leader of men, commands control over all horses, cattle, villages and chariots as well as the waters. (RV 2.12.7). In a huymn, addressed to Aran.ya_ni_, the tutelary godess of the forest, the deity is enquired as to why she languishes in the wilderness or whether the fear does not assail her and then she is advised to ask for a village (RV 10.146)...In another lyrical hymn, the motherly rivers Vipa_s' and S'utudri_ are implored by Vis'va_mitra, the sage, for letting the Bharatas, who were moving as a cattle-seeking contingent, **gavyam gra_mah**, pass over their combined stream by a transport chariot **-- anasa_ rathena**. (RV 3.33.11). At another place, gra_mas along with chariots and cultivators, all in instrumental plural, occur together. Here, the term can be interpreted as troops as well as villages...villagers, being primarily engaged in agricultural pursuits and animal husbandry, also served as stand-by army. And it is why the word sam.gra_ma which literally means an aggregate of gra_mas had become a synonym for a troop, horde, army, or even war and battle. (RV 1.100.10: sa gra_mebhih sanita_ sa rathebhirvide vis'va_bhih kr.s.t.ibhirnvadya)...(gra_man.i_) goes in front and is opulent to pay sacrificial gifts (RV 10.107.5: daks.in.a_va_n gra_man.i_ragrameti) and as such is the donor of thousands, sahasrada_ (RV 10.62.11) His place of eminence in the royal court is attested to by the fact that he was one among the ratnins, the

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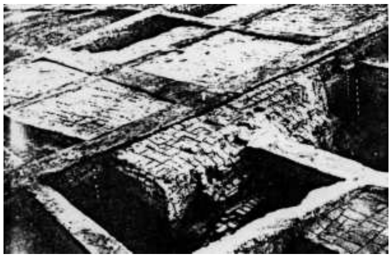
jewel-bearers, of the king (S'Br. 5.4.4.18)...To sum up, we find mention of gra_ma, maha_gra_ma, vrajana, vraja, pastya, pastya_, chhardis, durga, s'aran.a, s'arman and pur all of which appear to be settlements of different kinds...

"we find very small sites like Balu, Surkotada, Pabumath and Mitathal, very extensive ones like Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Ganweriwala, Rakhigarhi and Dholavira and a long range of intermediate ones of varying sizes and configurations like Banawali, Lothal, Kalibangan, Nausharo, etc. In the majority of the cases, there is more than one division. If excavated under an intelligent planning, each of the divisions may be found enclosed within a fortification. At a better preserved site like Dholavira, there may be found more than one walled enclosure attached to the city walls for housing subservient set-ups or/and a cattle farm." (Bisht, 1999, pp. 419-420).

Dholavira: east gate of the castle in the citadel; north gate of the castle in the citadel.

Banawali: streets, residential sectors near the east gate of the lower town, Harappan period (Period II).

Banawali. Fortification wall, mud bricks. Harappa period.



“The bi-partite wall which runs centrally across the mound from north to south, dividing the settlement into two halves, has so far been traced to a length of 105 metres and height of over 4.50 metres. The average thickness of this wall is about 6 metres. It is significant to note that near about the center of this wall is a narrow but impressive opening, possibly serving the function of a postern-gate through which communication could be maintained between the two halves of the walled city. At one stage the gate was made ‘pucca’ by way of constructing a drain-like structure which was perhaps meant to let out the drain watr also. That this gate was not for unrestricted movement of people has been attested by the discovery of a massive square bastion or tower built against the dividing wall at the entrance itself. This little evidence goes a long way to prove that the Harappan social structure was much more regimental than that of the Sothi period.” [After fig. 3 in R.S. Bisht and S. Asthana, Recently excavated Harappan sites, in: Maurizio Taddeo, ed., *South Asian Archaeoogy 1977*, Naples, pp. 227-228].

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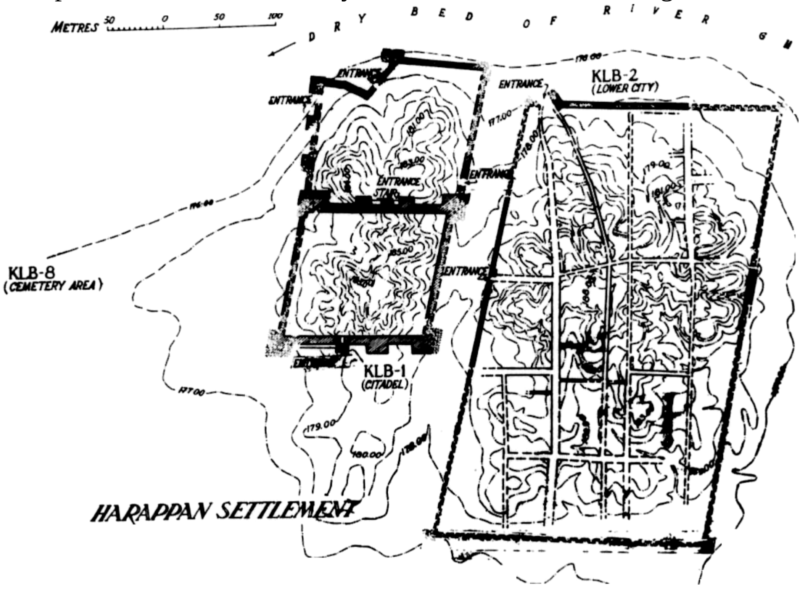
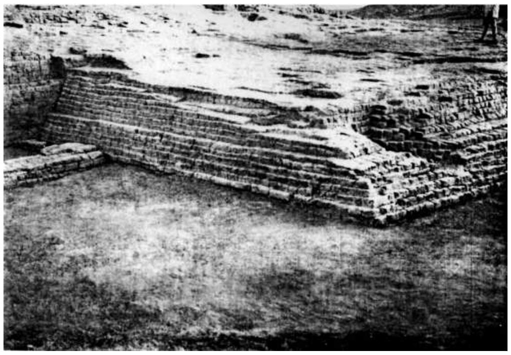
Kalibangan. Citadel in the west, lower city to the east. Citadel was located on top of a previous occupation which was already a mound some 1.6 m. high. Citadel is a parallelogram 240 m X 1220m and consists of two almost equal but separately patterned parts (rhomboids in plan). Both parts were surrounded by a fortification-wall ranging from 3 to7 m. in width and reinforced at frequent intervals with rectangular salients or bastions. The fortifications were of mud bricks. Southern half of the citadel was more heavily fortified with corner-bastions and salients.



Kalibangan-I General view showing rampart (defence) walls facing South and West looking North-East. Salient with four to six massive platforms.

A salient is shown with six massive platforms of mud and mud bricks intended for some specific purpose. Access to the working platforms was by steps from the passage. [After B.K. Thapar, 1989, New traits of the Indus civilization at Kalibangan: an appraisal, in: Karen Frifelt and Per Sorensen, eds., *South Asian Arhaeology 1985*, Curzon Press, Pl. 7.4].



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Vedic and Avestan People

Relative Chronologies: Xvaniratha, Vedic and Avestan; soma, haoma; kavi us'anas and kayanids

> "Zoroastrians were given gracious sanctuary on Indian shores more than a millenium ago. We bow our heads to India, which has given us full religious freedom, unlike any other country in the world. India is indeed the world's truest religious democracy."
>
> http://www.ozemail.com.au/~zarathus/tenets33.html
>
> “Firstly, we have to take into account the fact that the Avestan corpus is rather small: less than 1,700,000 characters if arranged ina plain text format. If we compare this with the Vedic tradition, which is what comes nearest to I with respect both to its contents and to the circumstances of its transmission, we may obsere that the size of the complete Avestan corpus is less than that of the R.gveda Samhita_ alone, although the latter represents only one tenth of the whole Veda. As for the Old Avestan parts, they are just half of the extent of the only Old Iranian corpus available to us, namely, that of the Old Persian inscriptions. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that we are faced with an extremely large *hapas legomena* which make manuy Old Avestan passages practically unintelligible even today…Avestan differs fom both Vedic and Old Persian. The former was succeeded by other varieties of Sanskrit (Epic, Classical, Buddhist), as well as by written and vernacular varieties of Middle Indic, which later developed into the modern Indo-Aryan languages; as for Old Persian, we may claim that, in spite of some temporary breaks in the tradition, its linguistic heritage was by and large transmitted through Middle Persian into Modern Persian…” (Jost Gippert, 2002, The Avestan language and its problems, in: *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 116, 165-187)

Social organization

The following perspectives on the functional organization of early societies also affirms that the ks.atriya as a class of warriors is a post-R.gvedic development in Bha_rata and is echoed in other regions which have been influenced by the R.gveda and Younger Avesta traditions. Four classes are mentioned in Avesta: athravan (priest), rathaeshtar (warrior), vastriosha (cultivator) and hutaokhsha (workman). [Ga_tha_ Ha. 48.5; Yasna Ha 19.17).

> "Among the earliest attested is the familiar division of society in Vedic India into the brahmanas 'priests', ksatriyas 'warriors' and vaisyas 'herder-cultivators', with the sudras, the lowest group, outside the Aryan community and composed of the suppressed indigenous population. Such a scheme has not only been remarkably persistent in India until the present but is quite analogous to the social divisions imputed to other Indo-European societies as can be seen in the following table:

I priests	**II warriors**	**III herder-cultivators**
brahmanas	ksatriyas	vaisyas
athravan-	rathaestar-	

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priests and magistrates flamines druides	warriors milites equites	vastriyo fsuyant- labourers and artisans quirites piebes

"...Dumezil argues that the evidence for tripartition of Indo-European society can be seen in one of the earliest sources of Indo-European religion -- the treaty between Matiwaza, King of Mitanni, and the Hittite king, dating to about 1380 BC and discovered in the archieves of Bogazkoy (Hattusa). The Mitanni king, as we have seen before, evoked the names of the transparently Indic gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Nasatyas. The first two names are characteristically found co-joined in the Vedas, that is, Mitra-Varuna, and they represent, according to Dumezil, the two main aspects of Indic sovereignty. Mitra personifies the concept of contract and governs the legalistic aspect of sovereignty while Varuna's domain pertains more appropriately to the magical or religious. The god Indra is the warrior-god par excellence while the Nasatyas are twins, associated closely with horses, and find their clearest roles in the maintenance of health in both livestock and people. In short, the three fundamental estates of Indo-European society are presented in canonical order in the Mitanni treaty...The underlying system, according to Dumezil, is one where society is encapsulated in three basic elements or, to use the Dumezilian expression, 'functions':

The first function embraces sovereignty and is marked by a priestly stratum of society which maintains both magico-religious and legal order. The gods assigned the sovereign function are often presented as a pair, each of which reflects a specific aspect: religious such as the Indic Varuna or Norse Odinn, and legal such as Mitra or Tyr.

A second military function assigned to the warrior stratum and concerned with the execution of both aggressive and defensive force, for example, the war-gods Indra, Mars and Thor.

A third estate conceptualizing fertility or sustenance and embracing the herder-cultivators. Here the mythic personages normally take the form of divine twins, intimately associated with horses, and accompanied by a female figure, for example, the Indic Asvins (horsemen) and Sarasvati, the Greek Castor and Pollux with Helen, the Norse Frey, Freyr and Njorth." (JP Mallory, 1989, In Search of Indo-Europeans, London, Thames and Hudson, pp. 131-132; Dumezil, G., 1958, L'Ideologie Tripartie des Indo-Europeens, Brussels; 1977, Les Dieux Souverains des Indo-Europeens, Paris).

Avestan: Khshathra Vairya (Phl. Shahrewar): lit. 'Desirable Dominion', the Amahraspand presiding over metals. [Note: the thesis on the movements of people from Indian Civilization in search of metals, minerals and ores; ks.attr. is a charioteer (VS); khattar id. (Pali)].

ks.attr. attendant, door-keeper (AV.); khattar attendant (Pali)(CDIAL 3647). <u>Charioteer</u>: ks.attr. charioteer (VS.); khattar charioteer (Pali); kha_ti_ member of a caste of wheelwrights (H.)(CDIAL 3647).

Cologne Lexical Resource: kattiriyan-, man of the warrior caste, the second of the four castes (Old Tamil)

kSattR {ttA} m. (Pan. 3-2 , 135 Vartt. 6 ; vi , 4 , 11) one who cuts or carves or distributes anything RV. vi , 13 , 2 AV. S3Br. xiii SankhSr. ; an attendant , (especially) door-keeper ,

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porter (cf. {anukS-}) AV. ix , 6 , 49 VS. xxx , 13 TBr. &c. ; a chamberlain Kathas. lii , 106 and 117 ; a charioteer , coachman VS. xvi , 26 (SatarUp. iv) SankhSr. xvi , 1 , 16 (v.l. for {kSatra}) ; the son of a Sudra man and a Kshatriya woman (or the son of a Kshatriya man and a Su1dra woman [called Ugra Mn. x , 12] L. ; or the son of a Sudra man and a Vaisya woman [called A1yogava Mn. x , 12] Un2. ii , 90) Mn. x , 12-26 and 49 Yajn5. i , 94 ; the son of a female slave L. ; (hence) N. of Vidura (as the son of the celebrated Vyasa by a female slave) MBh. i , 7381 ; iii , 246 BhP. iii , 1 , 1-3 ; N. of Brahma1 L. ; a fish L. [Note. Vidura, the ks.attr or charioteer and Yudhishthira spoke the Mlеccha (Meluhhan) dialect in the Great Epic.]

kSad kSadate} (perf. p. {cakSadAna}) , to cut , dissect , divide , kill RV. i , 116 , 16 and 117 , 18 AitBr. i , 15 ; to carve (meat) , distribute (food) AV. x , 6 , 5 ; to take food , consume , eat RV. i , 25 , 17 (2. sg. A1. or dat. inf. {kSadase}) and x , 79 , 7 (perf. {cakSade}). [As a Sautra root {kSad} means " to cover , shelter. "] cf. chaddar 'blanket' (H.)

Formation of the ra_s.t.ra, ks.atriya and molten metal

The references to Khshathra in Avestan are remarkable parallels to the legacy of the bronze-age civilization of the Sarasvati and Sindhu River Basins where the settlements were substantially dedicated to working with metals. In the context of the keys to decode the inscriptions as bronze-age weapons, it appears that these River Basin settlements were insipient evolution of the ks.atriya, the warrior groups in stabilising the ra_s.t.ra (also referred to the R.gveda (RV 4.42.1; 7.34.11; 84.2; 10.109.3; 124.4). This word denotes 'kingdom' in Atharvaveda and other later texts (AV 10.3.12; 12.1.8; 13.1.35; VS 9.23; 20.8; Taittiri_ya Samhita_ 1.6.10.3; 3.5.7.3; 5.7.4.4; Taittiri_ya Bra_hman.a 1.2.1.13; Maitra_yan.i_ Sam.hita_ 3.3.7; 7.4; 8.6; 4.6.3). The priest, Purohita, is called ra_s.t.ragopa, protector of the realm in Aitareya Bra_hman.a (7.25).

Va_hika and Madra, both of northern Punjab, are vra_tya. (MB 8.30). Aitareya Bra_hman.a places the lands of northern Kuru and northern Madra beyond the Himavant. (ABr. 8.14). Ba_hika refer to Rudra as Bhava and easterners call him S'arva (S'Br. 1.7.3.8). Vra_tya rode on a *vipatha* chariot which "should be yoked with (two animals:) a horse and a mule". (s'a_n.d.ilya cited in LS'S 8.6.10: **as'va_s'vatara_bhya_m yuktah sya_t; A_pS'S 22.5.5 = HS'S 17.2.33: as'vo s'vataras' ca yugyau**). The **vipatha** is **pra_cya-ratha** (the chariot of the easterners: LS'S 8.6.9). This remarkably parallels "the Hittite ritual wherein a vehicle was drawn by paired animals with a mule yoked on the left and a horse on the right side." (Mallory, J.P., 1981, The ritual treatment of the horse in the Early Kurgan tradition. *Journal of Indo-European Studies*9: 205-226: 216 citing Otten, H., 1958, *Hethitische Totenriuale,* Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu berlin, Institut fu Orientforschung, Vefoffentlichung 37, Berlin: 138-139).

The mleccha-s of Bharat, the vra_tya-s of the R.gveda had influenced the Hittites by going across the Tigris-Euphrates doab, with this remarkable cultural trait! The vra_tya were the *ra_japutra*, the later-day princes and kings of Mitanni! Hittites were vra_tya.

> **s'ye_na** hawk, falcon, eagle (RV.); se_na, se_naka hawk (Pali); se_n.a (Pkt.); s'en. kite (WPah.); xen falcon, hawk (A.); sen.a_ id. (Or.); sen, se~ (H.); s'en, s'eni_ (M.); sen falcon, eagle, kite (Si.)(CDIAL 12674). **sae_na** = falcon (Avestan)

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The reference to **sena_** as a falcon; rebus: **sena** 'army' links with the **vra_tya** as a troop (**vra_ta**): La_t.ya_yana (8.5) details a part of vra_tyastoma called s'yena to be performed by the performers called **vra_ti_na,** who were elected from the learned sons of warriors (**yaudha**) or **arhat** (worthy persons). They were required to wear red turbs and red cloth, carried bows and arrows and were girded with swords. [Vra_tya clothing is given to unworthy bra_hman.a (*brahmabandhu*) of Magadha (*magadha-des'i_ya*: LS'S 8.6.28).]

According to *Baudha_yana*, Maha_vrata was a practice 'in olden times.' The Maha_vrata was a feast offered by vra_tya. (Hauer, J.W., 1927, *Der Vra_tya*, I. Stuttgart; Rolland, Pierre, 1973, Le Maha_vrata, *Nachricten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Gottingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Jg. 1973: 51-79). Jaimini_ya Bra_hman.a (2.405) note that at the end of the Maha_vrata: "they make a *ma_gadha* and a *pums'calu_* copulate on the southern border of the *vedi*." The event involved scolding bouts between a brahmaca_rin (celibate student) and a harlot who accuses him because he has broken his vrata (vow) of chastity and in turn, the student chastised the woman as 'a vile harlot, the washerwoman of the warring band, who cleanses the member of every man.' [LS'S 4.3.11: **dhik tva_ ja_lmi pums'cali gra_masya ma_rjani purus.asya purus.asya s'is'napran.ejani_ti brahmaca_ri_**]. These exchanges or verbal duels are comparable to a_hanasya_ verses (AV 20.136; a_-han 'to strike, to smite'); The *ma_rjani_*, the washerwoman is the *d.ombi_*. Young da_si_, maidens, carry waterpots, smite their thighs, sing a song of fertility for the cows and dance around the **ma_rja_li_ya dhis.n.ya.** Hundred-stringed harps, flutes and big earth-drums are played for music. The earth-drum was a hole dug in the earth and covered with a bull hide. It was beaten with a bull's tail (a pun on the word: **s'is'na**); it was called as the divinity **Va_c** (LS'S 3.11.3). **Va_c** is the highest principle, the divinity of war. (RV 10.125.6). The metaphor of purification of soma using the *pavitram*, the earth-drum covered with a bull hide is complete. Kurus went on a vra_tya expedition to Pa_n~ca_la. (There is only two references to Kurus in R.gveda: a Kuru-s'ravan.a Tra_sadasyava in RV: 10.32.9; 10.33.4; a Pa_kastha_man Kauraya_n.a in RV 8.3.21). It was a Maha_vrata related to the "brahmanical ritual..not one of antithesis but of precedence in development." (Heesterman, J.C., 1962, Vra_tya and sacrifice, *Indo-Iraniqan Journal* 6.1: 1-37: 36). The as'vamedha horse is accompanied by singing bards called ka_ri-ma_gadha_h and by ra_janya riding vipatha chariots. Jaimini_ya Bra_hman.a (2.222) notes that the **vra_tya** are to speak 'what is obscene'.

In S'atapatha Br. a **ra_janya** (elsewhere also referred to as a **vra_tya**) is called ks.atra, 'authority or power' (S'Br. 12.7.3.12). Ra_janya is a ra_jan and refers to the kinsmen of a chief. A ks.atra is produced out of the peasantry or a bra_hman.a. (vis'o hi ks.atram ja_yate: S'Br. 12.7.3.8; S'Br. 11.7.3.12). The term, ks.atra occurs in R.gveda and later texts. (RV 1.24.11; 136,1.3; 4.17.1; 5.62.6; AV 3.5.2; 5.18.4; ks.atra-s'ri_ RV 1.25.5; 6.26.8; ks.atra-bhr.t, bringers of lordship': TS 2.4.7.1; TBr. 2.4.6.12; 7.6.3; VS 27.7). IN RV 1.157.2; RV 8.35.17, ks.atra refers to a specific ruler; in other contexts, the term refers to rulers in plural: AV 4.22.2; VS 10.17; TBr. 2.7.6.3. '**..but in no case does it in the R.gveda certainly (See Roth, St. Petersburg Dictionary and Varn.a) mean what it regularly denotes in the later Sam.hita_s (AV 2.15.4; 9.7.9; 12.5.8; 15.10.5; TS 1.6.1.2; 2.2.11.2; VS 5.27; 14.24; 18.38), the ruling class as opposed to the priests (Brahman), the subject people (Vis', Vais'ya), and the servile class (s'u_dra)**...A Ks.atra-pati is several times mentioned as an equivalent of 'king' (TS 1.8.14.2; VS 10.17; TBr. 1.7.8.3; S'Br. 5.4.2.2)." (AA Macdonell and AB Keith, 1912, repr. 1958, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, p. 202). The word, 'ks.attr.' is ued in the R.gveda (RV 6.13.2) in reference to god as the 'distributor' of good things to his worshippers. A ks.attr. is associated with Savita_ who produced objects daily for distribution in the vidatha* (house). (RV 7.40.1). In VS 16.26; TBr. 3.4.7.1, the word may refer to a

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'charioteer'. It is notable that in the Avestan tradition, khshathra is associated with the prospecting of and smelting of metals, a function akin to the work of a chariot-maker or rathaka_ra. Bow is an attribute of a ks.atriya (AV 18.2.60; Ka_t.haka Samhita_ 18.9; 37.1; S'Br. 5.3.5.30; TA_r. 6.1.3; in ABr. 7.19, the attributes include: chariot, breastplate (kavaca), bow and arrow (is.u-dhanvan). A ra_janya is required to be an archer a good chariot fighter: TS 7.5.18.1; MS 3.12.6; KS As'vamedha 5.14; VS 22.2).

The metaphor of the army is vividly recounted in Jaimini_ya Bra_hman.a (2.69-70):

> "When Praja_pati and Mr.tyu sacrificed, they competed with each other by means of their yajn~a. At that time the implements of the sacrifice were like arrows and (other) weapons today. What is lauded (by the Sa_mavedic priests), what is praised (by the R.gvedic priests), and what is performed (by the Yajurvedic priests) in the yajn~a, that formed Praja_pati's army. Mr.tyu's army, on the other hand, consisted of what is sung to the accompaniment of the harp, what is danced, and what is performed for pleasure. Their armies were equal: as great as was that of the one, as great was that of the other. For a long time, for many years, they could not subdue each other.
>
> "Praja_pati desired: 'I want to overcome Mr.tyu!' He saw this concord in the sacrifice, this numerical equivalence. Thereby he overcame Mr.tyu…that is why they say: 'There is no rivaling performance of rites nowadays, for that which was the second sacrifice, that decayed. (Now) there is just one single sacrifice: Praja_pati is the sacrifice."

If some of the vra_tya were later termed as asura, there is a clear indication that both vra_tya and yajn~ika were the same people of common descent:

> S'Br. 13.8.1.5: "Four-cornered (is the sepulchral mound). Now the deva and asura, both of them sprung from Praja_pati, were contending in the (four) regions. The deva drove out the asura, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and, being regionless, they were overcome. Wherefore the people who are godly make their burial-places four-cornered, while those who are asuric, the easterners *(pra_cya_h)* and thers, (make them round, for they (the gods) drove them out of the regions…"
>
> This can be related to archaeologically to post-cremation practices found in Dholavira of circular stone structures containing pots with ashes and bones. Pra_cya_h may refer to people of Magadha region, where circular stu_pa-s with 24 spoked-walls are found as in the stu_pa found at Sanghol, Punjab. These people might have migrated to the BMAC region to set up the man.d.ala-type fire-temple structures.

The term vidatha occurs 122 times in the R.gveda, 10 times in Va_jasneyi Sam.hita_ and 21 times in the Bra_hman.as. Different interpretations are offered for this word (cf. UN Ghoshal, 1945, *History of Hindu Public Life*, Pt. I, Calcutta, p. 28; repr. as A History of Indian Public Life, OUP, Bombay, 1966). Roth interprets it as an assembly for religious and military purposes. Maybe, it was a family council since Taittiri_ya Bra_hman.a (1.7.3) lists 12 ratnins, three of whom are women: mahis.i_, va_va_ta_ and parivr.kti RV 2.27.12 notes: sa reva_n ya_ti prathamo rathena vasuda_va_ vidathes.u pras'astah [first in rank, and wealth, munificent and lauded in vidatha (councils)]. Spoils of war are taken into the common treasury: RV 3.28.4 agne yahvasya tava bha_gadheyam na pra minanti vidathes.u dhi_ra_h (a reference to appropriation to the gan.a the spoils of war and distribution in vidatha).

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This semantic evolution of the term, 'ks.atra' is clear indication that the Avestan **Khshathra** is a reference to the post-R.gvedic semant. of a class distinct from the priests and the peasantry and dedicated to the setting up of the 'kingdom'. This is a clear example of the relative chronology of the tradition: R.gveda > Avestan.

What evolves as ks.atriya dharma or the duties of the royalty finds mention in the context of the sovereign power of Ahura Mazda. Ancestors are called ks.atra and refer to Mitra, Varun.a, Indra and A_ditya-s. Zarathus.t.ra uses the word in the meaning of power, divine power symbolized in the Kingdom of Ahura Mazda. He calls it vohu khshathra, 'the Good Kingdom' (Ys. 31.22; 48.8); or khshathra ishtoish, 'the Kingdom of Desire' (Ys. 51.2); or khshathra vairya, 'the Wished for Kingdom' (Ys. 43.13;51.1). Khshathra is created by Ahura Mazda (Ys. 44.7). In post-Ga_thic texts, Khshathra Vairya is the name of the archangel representing Ahura Mazda's divine majesty.

> "Khshathra's sphere over metals. Ahura Mazda has created the earth rich in soil and has filled its bowels with untold mineral wealth and has desired that mankind should thrive and prosper through the riches obtained by their diligence and labour. Wealth is the natural concomitant of all earthly kingdoms. All earthly and spiritual riches therefore are embodied in Khshathra. The later Avestan texts assign the guardianship of metals, the visible token of wealth, to Khshathra. The Ga_tha_s are silent over the connection of Khshathra with metals. The ordeal of molten metal does however play a promine tpart in cleansing the world of all moral impurities to make way for the coming of Khshathra's Kingdom. Ahura Mazda knows best the retributions that will take place through the molten metal. (Ys. 30.7; 32.7). The righteous will reap their final reward and the wicked will meet with their retribution when Ahura Mazda will judge them through the molten metal. (Ys. 51.9)." (p. 58).

RV 8.31.13 refers to the path of r.ta; the Ga_tha_s speak of the path of As.a, righteousness, an idea developed further in the Young Avesta. Path of righteousness leads to paradise and wicked souls tremble at the Bridge of Judgement because of their deviation from the path of As.a through their words and deeds. (Ys. 51.13). As.a Vahis.ta becomes regarded as the healing spirit of bodily diseases. His associate is Airyaman, the guardian genius of human health. (Yt. 3.6; Vd. 7.44). As.a Vahis.ta is invoked together with Atar, the genius of fire. (Ys.1.4; 2.4; 3.6; 4.9; 6.3; 7.6; 17.3; 22.6; 59.3; Yt. 4.9; Sr. 1.7; 2.7; Afr. 4.2; G. 2.9,1). **Angra Mainyu, as the devil, exclaims that Zarathus.t.ra burns him with As.a Vahis.ta as with molten metal.** (Yt. 17.20). Later, As.a Vahis.ta is identified with the household fire on the hearth.

In the legend of Faust, Zoroaster is shown as the prince of magicians whose book Faust studies diligently and gets to be known as a second Zoroastris. The book passes into the hands of Faust's pupil Wagner, who studies it equally diligently as his master did. (Remy, 1901, *The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany*, p. 13, New York).

In Vedic tradition in Bha_rata, upa_karma is an annual renewal of the yajn~opavi_tam, the sacred thread. During this karma, a japa is recited:

ka_moka_rs.i_t, manyuraka_rs.i_t : i.e., lust did it, evil did it. This is intended to propitiate and repent for oneself for the evil deeds of the past year. This tradition is repeated in Avestan tradition venerating Angra Mainyu. The Ga_thic epithet 'angra' turns into a proper name in the Young Texts. Angra Mainyu is the Demon of Demons (Vd. 19.1.43) who has crept into the creation of the Good Spirit (Yt. 13.77). His standing epithet is 'full of death'. (Ys. 61.2). At the beginning of creation, the recital of Ahuna Vairya by Mazda put Angra Mainyu to flight (Ys. 19.15). Ahuna Vairya is the greatest of all spells, the Word of the Zarathus.t.rian theology. It is made of twenty-one words with corresponding twenty-one Nasks which constitute the Holy Writ of the Zoroastrians. The

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Manthrans, or chanters are those who are privileged to recite the spells. (Vd. 4.44). The R.gveda r.ca-s are referred to as 'mantra' with specific reference to the occasions on which particular r.ca-s are recited. The Manthrans and Ahuna Vairya spell and the reference to angra are clearly traditions borrowed from the tradition which continued in Bha_rata in prescriptions contained in s'rauta su_tra and bra_hman.a texts.

Similarly, Avestan texts refer to Spenta Mainyu and his adversary Angra Mainyu as **thworeshtar** or the fashioners or cutters. This is a legacy of the Tvas.t.r. of the R.gveda, Tvas.t.r. the carpenter in Atharvaveda (AV 12.3.33) where he uses the axe (svadhiti) to fashion *ru_pam sukr.tam* (from wood) (cf. Pan~cavims'a Bra_hman.a 25.4; La_t.ya_yana S'rauta Su_tra 10.12.12). He is Tas.t.r. in R.gveda again as a carpenter who fashions. (RV 1.61.4; 105.18; 130.4; RV 3.38.1; RV 7.32.20; RV 10.93.12 119.5; cf. Niruktam 5.21).

A dog and two birds on the Daimabad Chariot (?xvani-ratha, svanad-ratha)

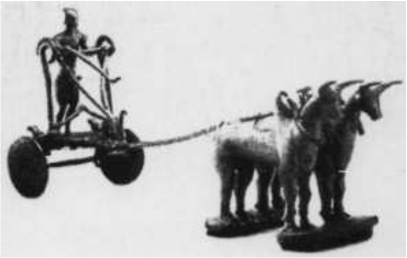
Yas.t X.67 notes that Mitra comes, driving in a chariot, from the eastern continent Arezahi_ to the splendid continent Xvanirata.

ratwya citra hacimno_

xvarenanhaca mazdada_ta

veretragnca ahurada_ta

'(Mitra comes) equipped with prompt energy, Mazda_h-created fortune, and Ahura-created victoriousness' (Gershevitch, I., 1959, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge; Geldner emends citra in favour of caxra; Bartholomae renders cixra as 'Tatkraft, Energie', or caxra, wheel; if the reading is ratwya caxra hacimno_, the meaning may be: '(Mitra comes) associating himself, i.e. according to, the circle of fixed time'.



Daimabad, 2nd millennium chariot.

'The idea conveyed is that Mitra visits the continent Xvanirata at appointed times which are looked upon as moving in a circle.': Mehendale, M.A., Some remarks on Mihir Yas.t (Yas.t X), in: Dharmadhikari, T.N., ed., 1981, Golden Jubilee Volume, Vaidika Sams'odhana Mandala, Poona).

"It has a front guard consisting of two vertical curved bars with turned upper ends, whereas the lower ends are attached to a horizontal bar which, in its turn, has two ring loops for the axle. The guard also has two horizontal bars fixed to it. Of these, the upper one is straight while the lower one is angular. The guard is further strengthened by two oblique bars soldered together in a dog standing on the central pole just in front of the guard. The platform on which rises the guard has on its either side a pair of birds formed into one by merging bodies, but having their heads in opposite directions. Stylistically they are related to the terracotta bird whistles from Harappan sites." (Kosambi, 1965) [cf. different views of the Daimabad chariot at: Sali, S.A. 1986. Daimabad 1976-79. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India; Fig.10.55 from Allchin, B.and Raymond Allchin, 1982, The rise of civilization in India and Pakistan,

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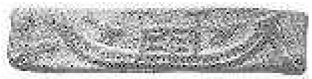
Cambridge Univ. Press; Fig. 4.5 from Kosambi, D.D., 1965, *The culture and civilisation of ancient India in historical outline,* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul].

The two birds on the Daimabad chariot model are comparable to the two birds shown on a boat on a Mohenjodaro tablet.



m1429b Tablet. Mohenjodaro. A boat with two birds facing opposite directions.

What was the dog called in the 2nd millennium; and what does it connote? Two possibilities:

> rata-vraNa, rata-zAyin, ratAnduka, ratAmarda = dog (Skt.) rathya_mr.ga = a street animal, dog (Skt.lex.)
>
> zvan m. (nom. sg. du. pl. {zvA} , {zvAnau} , {zvAnas} ; weakest base {zun} cf. {zuna}; in some comp. {zvA} for {zva} , a dog , hound , cur RV.; ({zunI}) f. a female dog.[Cf. Zd. {spa1} ; Lat. {canis} ; Lit. {szu} ; Goth. {hunds} ; Eng. {hound} ; Germ. {Hund}.] cuva_, cuva_nam = dog (Ta.)
>
> svan = to adorn (Dha_tup. 19.62) tuvi-s.van.as = loud-sounding [svana = roaring water]; sva_nin = noisy, turbulent (RV); svani_ka = having a fair or radiant countenance (as Agni)(RV)[svani= fire (Agni)] sva_ni-ratha = sva_nad ratha (having a rattling chariot, RV; cf. Monier Williams) khvaniratha (Av.)(German. schwan; Anglo Sax. swin).sva_n = making sound (RV 1.104.1); sva_nah = sound (RV 5.2.10; also name of one of the guards of the Soma (Taittiri_ya Sam.hita_ 1.2.7.13). sva_ni-ratha = rattling chariot.

The terms used in Avestan are: hvanirathem, hvaniratha, khaniratha, which is one of the 7 keshvars (or karshvare: regions, continents) of the earth:

> Yasna 57.30. We worship Obedience the blessed and the stately, who though lofty and so high, yea, even to the girdle, yet stoops to Mazda's creatures, (31) who thrice within the day, and three times of a night, will drive on to that Karshvar Hvaniratha, called the luminous, as he holds in both the hands and poizes his knife-like battle-ax, which flies as of itself, and to cleave the Daevas' skulls, (32) to hew down Angra Mainyu, the wicked, and to hew down Rapine of the bloody spear, to hew down the Daevas of Mazendran, and every Demon-god. For his splendor and his glory, for his might....
>
> Yasna 65.5. And the (chief) outlet to this one water (Ardvi Sura Anahita) goes apart, dividing to all the seven Karshvars. And this outlet to my river, Ardvi Sura Anahita, bears off its water always in summer and in winter. This my river purifies the seed of men, and wombs of women, and women's milk.

Svanadratha is mentioned in the R.gveda: svanadratha = having a rattling chariot (Skt.lex.) It is unclear if this can be related to the lexeme, 'svani', fire in which case: sva_ni-ratha = svanad-ratha or the ratha which carries the 'agni' for the sacrifice. The symbolism of the 'dog' on the pole of the chariot can then be explained as a grapheme corresponding to the lexeme, 's'van'. The symbolism of

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the two birds looking at opposite directions may be compared to similar birds depicted on the picture of a boat on a Mohenjodaro tablet; if these are 'direction' or 'navigation' birds, the same 'meaning' can be assigned to the two birds on the Daimabad chariot. In later, younger Avestan texts, xvaniratha (karshvar hvaniratha) is the name of a continent. The adjective 'luminous' used in Yasna 57.30 is significant, in the context of the interpretation of 'svani' as fire in R.V.

> **ya r.jra_ mahyam ma_mahe saha tvaca_ hiran.yaya_**
> **es.a vis'va_ny abhy astu saubhaga_san:gasya svanadrathah**
>
> RV 8.1.32: (Praise me, saying), "He who has presented riches to me with a golden purse; may this rattling chariot of Asan:ga carry off all the treasures (of my enemy)". [The allegorical reference to svanadratha is to Agni, fire (anointed with marrow) carrying the soma…]
>
> In the context of the soma purification (treatment) process, svani (in tuvi- and mahi-shvan.i) = fire, hence also called a synonym of agni. Thus, sva_ni-ratha is a land where agni is the 'chariot' or vehicle. So, MBh. Vana Parva, Ch. 219, Verse 15 notes: svana is the son of agni, called Satya; the agent which causes disease to livin things. Agni got this name because human beings produce svana (pitiable cryy) when afflicted with diseases. The semantic expansion of svana- is more elaborate in the Vedic than in Avestan which seems to refer to this morpheme only in the context of Airyanem Vae_jah or Arya Vis'a, the land mass circumscribed by two rivers: Ranha_ and Vanhi_...
>
> Vedic and Sanskrit sememes which explain Av. khvaniratha, hara_, rasa_ and vanhi_ da_itya_ are provided below with the suggestions that khvaniratha is the land (semant. lit.Agni-traversed) between the rivers Sarasvati_ and Gan:ga_; that hara_ is the Himalayan range near Kashmir; that rasa_ = Sarasvati_ and that vanhi_ = Ja_hnavi_ or Gan:ga_ [Av. da_itya_ = AV. dahyate_ = is burnt; dayhati (Pali), i.e. burnt vasa_ or burnt marrow]:
>
> Two terms used in describing soma processes: rasa_ and va_say; both terms can be explained in terms of (1) liquid ore; also, melted butter; and (2) melted fat, greasy serum or marrow of flesh [a clear reference to two of the main ingredients used in intensifying the fires: butter and marrow/flesh]
>
> The two terms are also assigned to two rivers which bound the area called khvaniratha (svanad-ratha or the domain of the agni -vehicle): ranha_ and vanhi_ (which can be equated with the Vedic versions of the terms: rasa_ and ja_hnavi_, two terms which are elaborated further in post-vedic mythology).

Bhagwan Singh (1995, *The Vedic Harappans*, New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan, p. 224) notes that the revata_ used in the context of the Pan.is may relate to the mount Revand mentioned in reference to Vis'ta_spa: 'When Zoroaster brought the religion...Vis'ta_spa put the a_dar- burzenmihr on its cultic place on mount Revand, which is also called pus't-e- vis'taspa_n that is revant of Yt. 19.6...This Revand-- another one lies not far south-- is situated northwest of Nishapur, not from Tos, near the

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turquoise mines (Herzfeld, Ernst, 1947, *Zoroaster and His World*, Princeton, I, 81-82).' It is notable there is a mountain called Revata in Gujarat.

Khvaniratha is bounded by two rivers which emanate from the mount Hara_.Harahaura is a tract of land lying between the Sindhu and Jhelum and the Gandgarh mountain and the Salt Range (Arch. S. Rep. Vol. V, p. 79 and Br.hatsam.hita_ 14.33; loc.cit. NL Dey]; Haramukta = the mount Haramuk in Kashmir, 20 miles north of S'rinagar (Dr. Stein's Ra_jataran:gin.i II, p. 407) Allegorically, hara_ refers to gold: hara_s'aya = resting in gold (TS 1.2.11.2, MS 1.2.7); haras = flame, heat, fury (RV 10.87.25); see also vr.s.n.o harasa a_yavah, the sons of A_yu, for the ardour of the bull Pada harase: harasa a_harta_rah a_yavah manus.ya_h (RV 10.158.2); hara-ya_n.a = whose cart is full of gifts or having a golden car (Vedic. Lex.) ha_rava = an asura born from the tear drops of Brahma_; he was burnt to death in the flames emerging from S'ivalin:ga (Skanta P. 5.2.48). The Haramukut.a peak is near the Ma_nasa lake. The Haracaritacinta_man.i narrates a legend regarding its name, Haramukut.a. (See Stein). Hara_ was called the Peak of Hara_ (ttaira harasya) (See Bailey, Khotanese Texts IV, Cambridge, 1961, 12). In Pahlavi, it is called Te_rag. "The Peak of high Hara_…around which circle the stars and moon and sun" (Yt. 12.25). Water from this mountain descends to the world and meets the sea Vourukas'a, which in turn is sourced from Harahvaiti_ Aredvi_ Su_ra_, also descending from the high Hara_ (Boyce, p. 136). At the centre of Vourukas'a stands a mountain, "of the bright metal which is the substance of the sky", that is, the crystal (GBd. 9.8 (BTA, 95): khvan-a_hin, ke_ go_hr i_ asma_n).

rasa = a liquid ore (Arthas'a_stra 2.12.2); rasapa_ka = the smelting of liquid ores (Arth. 2.12.1); rasaviddha = smelted from liquid ores (Arth. 2.13.3) rasa = melted butter (Skt.) yadatra ripta rasinah sutasya (VS 19.35): rasin = juicy, pungent (RV 8.1.26); ripta = smeared [ripta-lepa (A_pS'S.2128)] rasa = juice of soma (RV 8.3.20); essence (RV 5.43.4); ras = to roar, bray [note that sva_n also is connected with rattling sound; hence, ra_sabha = the carrier of the as'vins (RV 1.116.2); ra_spin = roaring (RV 1.122.4)]; rasa_ = moisture, flood (RV 8.72.13); yasya samudram rasaya_ saha_huh 'rasa_bhirnadi_bhih' : rasa_ = name of a river (RV 10.75.6) cf. rasa_yana = elixir vitae (MBh.); rasa_in = substance (e.g. wax or lac) put in the joint of a water-vessel to prevent it leaking (N.); rasa_n = ingredients in working metals (B.); rasa_n.a = substances for polishing metals (Or.)(CDIAL 10659).

va_say = to gild (Arth. 2.13.46) [?fr. vas = assume (a form), enter into (Dha_tup. 24.13)]; vasa_ = shining, white, the serum or marrow of the flesh (considered by some as distinct from that of the bones), marrow, fat, grease, lard, suet, melted fat, any fatty or oily substance; vasa_-graha = a ladle full of melted fat (Ka_tyS'r.)(Monier Williams lex.)

ja_hnavi_ = gan:ga_ (Harivam.s'a 1.ch.27); the hermitage of R.s.i Jahnu is said to be at Jahngira near Sultanganj, weswt of Bhagalpur [N.L. Dey, 1979, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, New Delhi; the dictionary explains six jahnus: Bhairavaghat.i_ below Gan:gotri at the junction of Bha_gi_rathi_ and

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Ja_hnavi_; at Kanya_kubja; at Jahngir in Sultanganj; at Shibganj above Rampur Boalia; at Gour near Malda; and at Jahnagar west of Nadia; thus six distinct locations on the Gan:ga_ are related to Jahnu]. Jahna_vi_ = Jahnu's family (RV 1.116.19) [jahman = water (Naigh. 1.12); cf. jon:gani_ = a vessel for holding water (Arth. 2.14.23)] Ra_ma_yan.a locates Ja_hnavi_ south of the Himava_n flowing close to Tamasa_ (Tons, a tributary, together with River Giri, of Sarasvati_ river system, flowing beyond Paontasa_heb] Govindapur copper plate of Laks.man.asena describes Hughli river as Ja_hnavi_.

jahnu = name of an ancient king and sage (son of Ajami_d.ha, of Suhotra, of Kuru, of Hotraka; an ancestor of the Kus'ikas; see also MBh. 1.12; Ra_ma_yan.a 1.44.35 for the Jahnu legend of the river discharged from Jahnu's ears) jahnu = pl. Jahnu's race (AitBr. 7.18; Ta_n.d.ya Br. 21.12.2); jahnu-saptami_ the seventh day in the light half of Vais'a_kha; jaj_hn.ava = part. Of Vis'va_mitra (Ta_n.d.ya Br. 21.12); of Suratha (BhP 9.22.9); the Gan:ga_ (MB h. 3.5.13) (Skt. lex.) There is also a play on the words in some legends related to R.s.i Jahnu using the semant.: janu = knee (RV); ja_nhu~_ knee (WPah.)(CDIAL 5195) and jan = to be born.

Bronze-age invention of weapons and tools

R.gveda is an extraordinary document of the early human civilization during the transition from the chalcolithic (copper and stone) to the bronze (ayas) age. Bronze constituted a revolutionary technological advance since by the process of alloying copper (**ta_mra**) and tin (**trapu**), a hardened metal was evolved which resulted in the production of metallic weapons and tools. This revolutionary invention altered the social organization radically. It should be noted that the R.gveda is not a treatise on war but the core theme is related to the processing of 'soma' through yajn~a (often wrongly translated as 'sacrifice'), using intense fire for days and nights, for example, in agnis.t.oma.

Archaeology, tradition and language

Prof. Konow argues that the extension of Indo-Aryan civilisation into Mesopotamai took place after the bulk of the R.gveda had come into existence. (cf. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 306, fn.2). R.gveda had come into existence on the banks of the River Sarasvati_ in Bha_rata.

There are many concordances between Vedic, SSVC and Avestan and almost all point to Vedic > SSVC > Avestan chronology on the grounds of both linguistics and semantics.

Zoroastrian rituals and the texts of Avesta have remarkable concordances with the Rigveda and the rituals which evolved in the Bra_hman.as.

A review of the contents of these texts will help evaluate ancient Indian chronology of the Vedic age.

One mode of disposal of bones and ashes described in the Rigveda and A_s'vala_yana Gr.hya Su_tra

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10.018.13 I heap up the earth around you, placing (upon you) this clod of earth; may I not be injured; may the Pitr.s sustain this your monument; may Yama make you a dwelling here. [I heap up the earth around you: O urn, I keep off the earth above you with your lid, he asthikumbha tavopari tvadi_yena kapa_lena pr.thivi_m pratibadhna_mi: this is addressed to the urn, containing the bones and ashes. The urn is buried after the corpse has been burnt. This verse is to be recited when the bones are covered with the lid: A_s'vala_yana Gr.hya Su_tra 4.5].

This compares with the Zoroastrian Dakhma-nashini mode of disposal of the dead Source: http://www.ozemail.com.au/~zarathus/dakhma33.html

While the Rigveda is focussed on the processing of Soma in the context of acquisition of wealth, the ritual aspects seem to be dominant in Avestan and in the Bra_hman.as (perhaps due to the non-availability of raw materials for processing Soma and the disruption of riverine/maritime trade due to desiccation of the Sarasvati River), indicating that the practices of Avestan and Bra_hman.as are of a later date.

Avestan < Sanskrit

The language of Avesta is concordant with Sanskrit, a language which has been essential in interpreting most of Avesta. Almost every Avestan word may be transformed at once into the equivalent Sanskrit word or vice versa by simply applying some phonetic rules, which has been the main contribution made by linguistic studies. Avestan inflexions are as rich as in Vedic Sanskrit. Sanskrit dipthong e_ appears in Avesta as ae_, o_i, e_. Thus, Av. vae_no_ite = Skt. ve_n-e_-te_. Sanskrit o_ is Av. ao, eu, as in Av. aojah = strength = Skt. o_jas. Avestan inserts epnethetic vowels, i,e,u as in: Av. bavaiti = Skt. bhavati; Av. haurva = Skt. Sarva = whole; Av. vaxedra = word = Skt. vaktra; AQv. hvare = Sun = Skt. Svar.

Avestan:	Sanskrit:
tem amavantem yazatem	**tam amavantam yajatam**
su_rem da_mo_hu sevis'tem	**su_ram dha_masu savis.t.ham**
mitrem yaza_i zaotva_byo_	**mitram yaja_i ho_tra_bhyah**

Some concordant words: Skt. yajn~a = sacrifice = Av. yasna; Skt. aryaman = god of hospitality = Av/ airyaman;; Skt. r.ta = truth = Av. OPers. as'a, areta-, ereta-; Skt. vipra = orator = Av. vifra; Skt. hotar = pourer = A:v. Zaotar; Skt. Soma = drink = Av. haoma; Skt. s'raddha_ = faith = Av. zrazda_; Skt. kavi = sage = Av. kavi; Skt. jaritar = singer - Av. jaretar; Skt. deva = god = Av. dae_va = false god, demon; Skt. druh = evil = Av. drug, drauga; Skt. dasyu = Av. dahyu; Skt. gandharva = Av. gandarewa; Skt. hva_tar = invoker = Av. zba_tar. [cf. H. Bailey, Veda and Avesta, repr. *University of Ceylon Review* Vol. XV Nos. 1 and 2, Jan-April 1957; B. Schlerath has compared Avesta and Sanskrit in Avesta-Dictionary entitled *Awesta-Worterbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1968; in Part II of this work are included a list of Vedic-Avestan parallels and concordances, with quotations from about 450 Vedic passages and 350 Vedic words).

R.gveda uses the word pavaste (dual) (RV 10.27.7) referring to the sky and the earth. Old Persian word is pavasta, 'envelope', a clay envelope put over the clay tablet.
RV 7.86.5 refers to pas'u-tr.pam na ta_yum, 'like a cattle-stealing thief'. Avesta and Iranian dialects use 'tarp' meaning 'steal'.

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RV 10.77.3 pa_jasvanto na vi_ra_h panasyavo, 'like warriors with fine countenances, worthy to be celebrated'; Avesta 'pa_zahvant', 'having a fine surface'.
RV 9.101.3 duros.am...somam; Avesta haomem du_raos'em, 'Haoma, which keeps death afar' or 'Haoma of far-spreading radiance'.

Dharma

In the R.gveda, dharma is referred to in relation to religious ceremonies (5.26.6; 8.43.24); in relation to codes of conduct (5.63.7; 7.89.5). Varun.a was responsible to preserve the custom and ensure order in the universe, an order which also governed people. Break of custom invoked the wrath of Varun.a who thus assumed the role of the creator of the law. The dharma of all people depended on the ra_jadharma, the fulfillment of the royal duties which guarantee the established order. Dharmic law also fixed the relationship between the ruler and the ruled and provided the legitimacy of the ks.atriya.

While interpreting the r.ca-s care has to be exercised not to confuse ritual function with social function. The martial spirit of the su_kta 6.75 is not an actual battle song but a prayer (at the most an incantation) to secure victory.

(pa_yu bha_radva_ja)
6.075.01 When the mailed warrior advances in the front of battles, his form is like that of a cloud; with his body unwounded do you conquer; may the strength of the armous defend us. [In the front of battles: prati_kam ru_pam: Yajus. 29.58; front of the army, sena_mukham].
6.075.02 May we conquer the cattle (of the enemies) with the bow; with the bow may we be victorious in battle may we overcome our fierce-exulting (enemies) with the bow; may the bow disappoint the hope of the foe; may we subdue with the bow all (hostile) countries. [Exulting: samadah: sa, with; amda, exhilaration; or, sam, entirely; ad, who devours (Nirukta 9.17, 9.18)].
6.075.03 This bowstring, drawn tight upon the bow, and making way in battle, repeatedly approaches the ear (of the warrior), as if embracing its friend (the arrow), and proposing to say something agreeable, as a woman whispers (to her husband).
6.075.04 May the two extremities of the bow, acting in concert, like a wife sympathizing (with her husband), uphold (the warrior), as a mother nurses her child upon her lap; and may they, moving concurrently, and harassing the foe, scatter his enemies. [Like a wife: bibhr.ta_m = ra_ja_nam dha_rayeta_m; or, dha_rayata_m samam, support the arrow; samaneva yos.a_ (a singular used for the dual), the two extremities drawing close to the archer, like two women to their lover, stiyau yatha_ ka_ntam a_gacchatah].
6.075.05 The quiver, the parent of many, of whom many are the sons, clangs as it enters into the battle; slung at the back (of the warrior), prolific (of its shafts), it overcomes all shouting hosts. [Shouting hosts: san:ka_h pr.tana_h: san:ka_ = sounding together, sam ka_yanti; Ya_ska, Nirukta 9.14: san:ka_: from sac, to be assembled or sam, with; kr., to be renowned, armies in which there are assembled, or celebrated warriors].
6.075.06 The skilful charioteer, standing in the car, derives his horses before him whatsoever he will; praise the efficacy of the reins, for the reins from the back (of the car compel the steeds) to follow the intention (of the driver).
6.075.07 The horses raising the dust with their hoofs, rushing on with the chariots, utter loud neighings, retreating not (from the charge), but trampling with their fore feet upon the enemies, they

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destroy them. [The horses raising: vr.s.apa_n.ayo as'vah = pa_m.suna_m vars.akakhura, with hoofs the showerers of dust; as'vava_ra = riders: vr.s.ab as'va_h haste yes.a_m te as'vava_rah; this is the nominative of kr.n.vate ghos.a_n, calling out, jaya, jaya; a_s'eva, the horses make a noise; hes.a_di s'abda_n, neighing, and the like].
6.075.08 The spoil borne off in his car, in which his weapons and armour are deposited, is the appropriate oblation of the warrior; therefore let us, exulting, aily do honour to the joy-bestowing car. [rathava_hanam: anas, a car or truck on which the car is placed].
6.075.09 The guards (of chariot), revelling in the savoury (spoil), distributors of food, protecors in calamity, armed with spears, resolute, beautifully arranged, strong in arrows, invincible, of heroic valour, robust, and conquerors of numerous hosts. [The guards of the chariot: pitarah is the only substanive: pa_layita_rah, guards, defenders, a body of spearmen, s'aktivantah: attendants on the war chariot of the chief].
6.075.10 May the bra_hman.as, the progenitors presenters of the Soma, the observers of truth, protect us; may the faultless heaven and earth be propitious to us; may Pu_s.an preserve us from misfortune, let no calumniator prevail over us. [The observers of truth: r.ta_vr.dhah raks.a_: of deities, deva, raks.atasma_n, protect us; raks.a = raks.ata].
6.075.11 The arrow puts on a (feathery) wing; the (horn of the) deer is its point; it is bound with the sinews of the cow; it alights where directed; whenever men assemble or disperse, there may the shafts fall for an advantage. [Deer is its point: mr.go asya_ danta: the deer is its tooth; i.e. the horn of the deer; or, mr.ga, an adjective, that which seeks or reaches the enemy (Nirukta 9.19); with the sinews of the cow: gobhih sannaddha = govika_raih sna_yubhih, with tendons derived from the cow].
6.075.12 Straight-flying (arrow), defend us; may our bodies be stone; may Soma speak to us encouragement; may Aditi grant us success.
6.075.13 Whip, with which the skilful (charioteers) last their thighs and scourge their flanks, urge the horses in battles. [Skilful carioteers: pracesah, applied to as'va_n, the intelligent horses].
6.075.14 The ward of the fore-arm protecting it from the abrasion of the ow-string, surrounds the arm like a snake with its convulutions; may the brave man, experienced in the arts of war, defend a combatant on every side. [hastaghna = a shield, as well as the guard of the fore-arm; with its convolutions: ahiriva bhogaih = s'ari_rena, with the body].
6.075.15 This praise (be offered) to the large celestial arrow, the growth of Parjanya, whose point is anointed with venom, whose blade is iron. [The growth of Parjanya: the stem of the arrow formed of the s'ara reed or grass growing in the rainy season].
6.075.16 Arrow, wheted by charms, fly when discharged; go light among the
adversaries, spare not one of the enemy.
6.075.17 Where arrows alight like shaven-headed boys may brahman.aspati, may Aditi, grant us happiness every day. [Like shaven-headed boys: kuma_ra_ vis'ikha_ iva, like boys without the lock of hair left at shaving; mun.d.ita_ mun.d.ah, shorn-headed; the arrows fall where they like, as boys before they are left with the lock of hair, before the religious tonsure, play about where they like].
6.075.18 I cover your vital parts with armour; may the royal Soma invest you with ambrosia; may Varun.a amplify your ample felicity; may the gods rejoice (at beholding you) triumphant. [May Varun.a amplify: uror vari_yo varun.as te kr.n.otu, may Varun.a make the increase of the large; that is, sukham, happiness].
6.075.19 Whoever, whether an unfriendly relative or a stranger, desires to kill us, may all the gods destroy him; prayer is my best armour. [Sa_maveda: brahma varma mama_ntaram, s'arma varma mama_ntaram, my best happiness my armour].

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The ra_jasu_ya may be seen not as a symbol of imperial power but as a wish for empire. The grazing area of the horse was coterminus with the grazing area of the people who owed allegiance to a king who performed the ra_jasu_ya.

स॒मि॒धा॒नः स॑हस्रजि॒द् अग्ने॒ धर्मा॑णि पुष्यसि ।

दे॒वानां॑ दू॒त उ॒क्थ्यः ॥

(vasu_yu a_treya) 5.026.06 Victor over thousands, you favour, when kindled our holy rites, the honoured messenger of the gods.

धर्म॑णा मित्रावरुणा विपश्चिता व्र॒ता र॑क्षेथे॒ असु॑रस्य मा॒यया॑ ।

ऋ॒तेन॒ विश्व॒म् भुव॑नं॒ वि रा॑जथ॒ः सूर्य॒म् आ ध॑त्थो दि॒वि चित्र्यं॒ रथ॑म् ॥

(arcana_na_ a_treya) 5.063.07 Discerning, sagacious, Mitra and Varun.a, by your office you protect pious rites, through the power of the emitter of showers; you illumine the whole world with water; you sustain the sun, the adorable chariot in the sky.

यत् किं चे॒दं व॑रुण॒ दैव्ये॒ जने॑ ऽभिद्रो॒हम् म॑नु॒ष्या॒श् चरा॑मसि ।

अचि॑त्ती॒ यत् तव॒ धर्मा॑ युयोपि॒म मा न॒स् तस्मा॒द् एन॑सो देव रीरिषः ॥

(vasis.t.ha maitra_varun.i) 7.089.05 Whatever the offence which we men commit Varun.a against divine beings, whatever law of yours we may through ignorance violate, do not you, divine Varun.a, punish us on account of that iniquity.

वि॒शां राजा॑नम् अद्भु॑तम् अध्य॑क्षं॒ धर्म॑णाम् इ॒मम् ।

अ॒ग्निम् ई॑ळे॒ स उ॑ श्रवत् ॥

(iru_pa a_n:girasa) 8.043.24 I praise this Agni, the sovereign of men, the wonderful, the superintendent of holy acts; may he hear me.

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Vedic and Avestan

Avestan concepts such as *asha* (truth, justice, order), *khshatra* (kingdom), *aramaiti* (humility, devotion), *ameretat* (immortality) and *haurvatat* (physical wholeness), are similar to ancient Indian views, *r.ta, kshatra, aramati, amrta* and *sarvatat*.

The unique characteristic of Indian value of ascetism – of being a vra_tya --, however, finds no place in Avestan. [See Solomon Nigosian, 1999, Zoroastrian Perception of ascetic culture, in: *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, February 1999, The Netherlands, EJ Brill p.4)

Hillebrandt (Vedic Mythology, 1981, vol.2 (repr.), pp. 270-271) provides some insightful observations pointing to the links between Vedic India and Avestan Iran:

"...I wish to limit my ask to making a beginning of the investigation in the hope that others would continue it. I give below predominantly such material where contacts with Iran can be assumed...TS 6.4.10.1: **br.haspatir deva_na_m purohita a_si_c chan.d.a_marka_v asura_n.a_m...(**MS 4.6.3 (81.1); S'BR 4.2.1.6)...In the course of the Agnis.t.oma both receive two Grahas, the S'ukragraha and the Manthingraha, which are late additions in the sacrifice...marka is the same as Avestan mahrka and denotes 'death'..s'an.d.a...recalls the name of the s'an.d.ikas, to be found among Indra's enemies...TMBr 7.5.20: us'ana_ vai ka_vyo 'sura_n.a_m purohita a_si_t (TS 2.5.8.5; S'S'S 14.27.1; Geldner, VSt, II, p. 166) **tam deva_h ka_madugha_bhir upa_mantrayanta tasma_ etak_ny aus'ana_ni pra_yacchan (Comm.: us'ana_ na_ma kaveh putrah asura_N.a_m virocana_di_na_m purohitah**...). Us'anas, whom the later Vedic texts associate with Indra a few times and make him a wise man and magician, is assigned here to the Asuras as the Purohita and likewise in the latter literature (MBH 1.76). Although etymologically somewhat different, he is not distinct from the most famous Iranian, Kai Ka_o_s, who is equated since long with the Kavi Kava usa..." (Cf. Spiegel, Die arische Periode, p. 284 ff.; Tiele, Geschichte der Religion im Altertum bis auf Alexander den Grossen, II, p. 72; Noldke, Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, II, p. 190, n.2. Contra Bartholomae, Altiranisches Worterbuch).

We will follow this lead in interpreting concordance and chronology between Vedic and Avestan in relation to: Vivasvan, Yama, Trita, Thrae_taona and also Kavi Us'anas).

Kavi Us'anas, les kavis et les karpans -- the kavis and the karapans, the singers and the smiths

The break-out of the kavi's from India into Iran can be explained as an ongoing search for minerals -- tin, copper, gold, silver -- in an evolving bronze age.

[Note the concordance between karapan and kr.pa_n.a: sword (Pa_N. 2.7-2, 18 Pat.); a sacrificial knife; a pair of scissors, a dagger, a knife (Skt.lex.)]

जर॑तीभि॒र् ओष॑धीभिः प॒र्णेभि॑ः शकु॒नाना॑म् ।

का॒र्मा॒रो अश्म॑भि॒र् द्युभि॒र् हिर॑ण्यवन्तम् इच्छ॒तीन्द्रा॑येन्दो॒ परि॑ स्रव ॥

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9.112.02 (R.s.i: S'is'u A_n:girasa; devata_: Pavama_na Soma) With dried plants (are arrows made), with the feathers of birds (and) with glistening stones; the smith seeks a man who has gold; flow, Indu, for Indra.

It is notable that two r.cas (RV 1.51.10 and RV 4.16.2) make a reference to 'us'anas' in the context of prayer to Indra; and in r.ca RV 1.51.10, the reference is emphatially related to a 'taks.a' which is explained as 'sharpening', a clear metallurgical or 'smithy' term. In two r.cas RV 10.49.3 and 10.99.9, the refernce to Kavi is in the context of 'weapons' and the slaying of S'us.n.a. The other r.cas refer to Us'ana_ (or Kavi or son of Kavi) and Kutsa and in the context of the legend of S'us.n.a. {s'us.n.a = fire (Skt.lex); cun.n.am = lime, oxide of calcium}

Hillebrandt (Alfred Hillebrandt, 1981, Vedic Mythology, Vol. II, pp. 164-172) notes that the name Kutsa is encountered in the rite of buying the Soma. "The Soma seller is regarded as a contemptible person. In the ritual literature a Kautsa is mentioned as the Soma seller (either alone or alternating with a S'u_dra). Baudha_yana states as follows in the Agnis.t.omabha_ga, 15: athaina_m (somakrayan.i_m) pradaks.in.am a_vr.tya_dbhir abhyuks.yodi_ci_m utsr.jati sais.a_ kautasya bhavati atha kautsa_d ra_ja_nam a_datte...yajama_nam adbir abhyuks.ya kautsa_ya va_ parikarmin.e vos.n.i_s.am prayacchati (A_pS'S 10.20.12: kautsa_d ra_ja_nam kri_n.i_ya_d anyasma_d va_ bra_hman.a_d ity uktvya_ha_py abra_hman.a_d iti). Ka_tya_yana also states that the Soma seller is a Kautsa or a S'u_dra (VII.6.3.4); on this the commentary remarks that a Kautsa is from the same gotra as Kutsa whereas others pine that a Kautsa is one whose conduct is despicable. Perhaps the two meanings are not far apart. Probably the contempt attached to Kutsa which is expressed in the derivatives like kutsana, kutsay and also in Pa_li kuccha_ has its origin in the despicable position assigned for unknown reasons to the Kutsas by the Vedic clans, in spite of the former's independent participation in the composition of the mantras...A_pS'S XXIV.8 enumerates a_n:girasa, ma_ndha_tra and kautsa as the trya_Rs.eya of the Kutsas...The most significant trait in the family tradition of the Kutsas is the participation of their progenitor in the battle against S'us.n.a. Just as Atri sets the sun free... so does Kutsa wrest the sun's wheel from S'us.n.a... Only in about seven passages Kutsa and S'us.n.a are mentioned besides Indra (RV 1.51.6; 63.3; 2.19.6; 5.31.7; 7.19.2; 10.49.3; 99.9)....{S'us.n.a} The problem would be easily solved if we simply follow Sa_yan.a who renders the word in the majority of cases as s'os.aka and explains him as an Asura. Then the s'os.aka would be the 'scorcher' who seizes the sun's wheel about the time of the summer solstice and scorches everything..." and goes on to see an association between Kutsa and the sun.

The association of Kutsa and Soma is seen in some r.cas:

अध्वर्यवो यः शतम् आ सहस्रम् भूम्या उपस्थे ऽवपज् जघन्वान् ।
कुत्सस्यायोर् अतिथिग्वस्य वीरान् न्य् आवृणग् भरता सोमम् अस्मै ॥

2.014.07(R.s.i: Gr.tsamada S'aunahotra) Priests, present the Soma to him, who, slaying hundreds and thousands (of asuras), cast them down upon the lap of the earth; who destroyed the assailants of Kutsa, A_yu and Atithigva.

त्वम् आविथ सुश्रवसं तवोतिभिस् तव त्रामभिर् इन्द्र तूर्वयाणम् ।
त्वम् अस्मै कुत्सम् अतिथिग्वम् आयुम् महे राज्ञे यूने अरन्धनायः ॥

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1.053.10 (R.s.i: Savya A_n:giras) You, Indra, have preserved Sus'ravas by your succour, Turvaya_n.a by your assistance; you have made Kutsa, Atithigva, and A_yu subject to the mighty though youthful Sus'ravas.

[Hillebrandt notes that the Kutsa who had been abandoned by Indra and handed over to his enemies bears the epithet athithigva a_yu (vol. 2, p. 168); so is Tu_rvaya_n.a, 'the youthful king' an enemy and so is Sus'ravas.]

प्र तत् ते अद्या करणं कृतम् भूत् कुत्सं यद् आयुम् अतिथिग्वम् अस्मै ।
पुरू सहस्रा नि शिशा अभि क्षाम् उत् तूर्वयाणं धृषता निनेथ ॥

6.018.13 That exploit is celebrated in the present day (which you have) achieved for Kutsa, for A_yu, for Atithigvava; to him you have given many thousands (of riches), and you have quickly elevated Turvaya_n.a over the earth by your power. [Turvaya_n.a: same as Divoda_sa, to whom Indra gave the spoils of S'ambara].

Griffith notes: 'Sa_yan.a represents the exploit as having been achieved for Kutsa, A_yu and Atithigva, but this is not the meaning of the words of the text...according to Sa_yan.a, tu_rvaya_n.a, 'quickly going', is an epithet of Divoda_sa'.

'The word Kutsa (apart from its identity as a synonym of the thunderbolt) is found in the Rigveda in the names of two perons: the King Purukutsa and the R.s.i Kutsa. Purukutsa is a king of the Tr.ks.i (Iks.va_ku) dynasy; and the R.s.i Kutsa, as per tradition (outside the Rigveda), was also the son of an Iks.va_ku king.' (Talageri, 2000, opcit., p. 92).

यद् इन्द्र नाहुषीष्व् आओजो नृम्णं च कृष्टिषु ।
यद् वा पञ्च क्षितीनां द्युम्नम् आ भर सत्रा विश्वानि पौंस्या ॥

यद् वा तृक्षौ मघवन् द्रुह्याव् आ जने यत् पूरौ कच् च वृष्ण्यम् ।
अस्मभ्यं तद् रिरीहि सं नृषाह्ये ऽमित्रान् पृत्सु तुर्वणे ॥

6.046.07 Whatever strength and opulence (exist) among human beings, whatever be the sustenance of the five classes of men, bring Indra to us, as well (as) all great manly energies.
6.046.08 Whatever vigour, Maghavan, (existed) in Tr.ks.u, in Druhyu, in Puru, bestow fully upon us in conflicts with foes, so that we may destroy our enemies in war.

[Alt. trans. (Griffith): All strength and valour that is found, Indra, in tribes of Nahus.as, and all the splendid fame that the Five tribes enjoy, bring all manly powers at once. Or, Maghavan, what vigorous strength in Tr.k.s.i lay, in Druhyus

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or in Pu_ru's fok, fully bestow on us, that, in the conquering fray, we may subdue our foes in fight.]

The r.ca of Sobhari ka_n.va (RV 8.22.7) is emphatic that Tr.ks.i is the son of Trasadasyu:

उप नो वाजिनीवसू यातम् ऋतस्य पथिभिः ।
येभिस् तृक्षिं वृषणा त्रासदस्यवम् महे क्षत्राय जिन्वथः ॥

8.022.07 Rich in food, As'vins, come to us by the paths of sacrifice, those by which showerers (of benefits), you went to gratify Tr.ks.i, the son of Trasadasyu, with vast wealth. [Alt. trans. (Griffith): COme to us, Lords of ample wealth, by paths of everlasting Law; Whereby to high dominion y with mighty strength raised Tr.ks.i, Trasadayu's son].

Us'anas gives the thunderbolt weapon to Indra, according to r.ca RV 1.121.12 [Note: the Bhr.gu are makers of Indra's chariot: RV 4.16.20].

एवेद् इन्द्राय वृषभाय वृष्णे ब्रह्माकर्म भृगवो न रथम्।
नू चिद् यथा नः सख्या वियोषद् असन् न उग्रो ऽविता तनूपाः॥

4.016.20 Therefore we offer to the vigorous Indra, the showerer (of benefits), holy adoration, that he may never withdraw his friendly (actions) from us, and that he may be our powerful protector, the defender of (our) persons, as the Bhr.gus (fabricate) a car (for use). [Bhr.gavo na ratham: bhr.gavo = di_ptas taks.a_n.ah, bright or dexterous carpenters; i.e. as a wheelwright makes a chariot for a special purpose, so the worshipper performs worship in order to secure Indra's favour].

Kutsa is Indra's charioteer (RV 2.19.6; 6.20.5); Nighan.t.u (2.20) has kutsa as a synonym of vajra (thunderbolt).

स रन्धयत् सदिवः सारथये शुष्णम् अशुषं कुयवं कुत्साय । *
दिवोदासाय नवतिं च नवेन्द्रः पुरो व्य् आरच् छम्बरस्य ॥

2.019.06 The radiant Indra subjected to Kutsa, his charioteer, (the asuras), S'us.n.a, As'us.a, and Kuyava; and, for the sake of Divoda_sa, demolished the ninety and nine cities of S'ambara. [As'us.a, he who is not to be dried up; perhaps, an epithet of S'us.n.a, an asura].

त्वम् इन्द्र नर्यो याँ अवो नॄन् तिष्ठा वातस्य सुयुजो वहिष्ठान् ।
यं ते काव्य उशना मन्दिनं दाद् वृत्रहणम् पार्यं ततक्ष वज्रम् ॥

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1.121.12 Indra, friend of man, mount the horses whom you cherish, who are fleet as the wind, are easily yoked, and who bear (theri burden) well; you have sharpened the foe-destroying thunderbolt, the slayer of Vr.tra, which inspiring (weapon) Us'anas, the son of Kavi, gave you. [Which inspiring weapon: The weapon was the gift of R.bhu;and is also attributed to Us'anas].

तक्ष॒द् यत् त॑ उ॒शना॒ सह॑सा॒ सहो॒ वि रोद॑सी म॒ज्मना॑ बाधते॒ शव॑ः ।

आ त्वा॒ वात॑स्य नृमणो मनो॒युज॒ आ पूर्य॑माणम् अवहन्न् अ॒भि श्रव॑ः ॥

1.051.10 (R.s.i is Savya A_n:girasa) If Us.ana_s should sharpen your vigour by his own, then would your might terrify by its intensity both heaven and earth. Friend of man, let the will harnessed steeds, with the velocity of the wind, convey you, replete (with vigour), to (partake of the sacrificial) food.

अव॑ स्य शू॒राध्व॑नो॒ नान्ते॑ ऽ॒स्मिन् नो॑ अ॒द्य सव॑ने म॒न्दध्यै॑ ।

शृलतसा॑त्य् उ॒क्थम् उ॒शनेव वे॒धाश् चि॑कि॒तुषे॑ असु॒र्या॑य॒ मन्म॑ ॥

4.016.02 Hero, Indra, set us free today to give you exhilaration at this sacrifice, as (they let loose a horse) at the end of the road; may the worshipper, like Us'ana_s, repeat an acceptable prayer to you, the knower (of all things), the destroyer of the asuras.

त्वं कुत्स॑ं शुष्ण॒हत्ये॑ष्व् आवि॒थार॑न्धयो ऽतिथि॒ग्वाय॒ शम्ब॑रम् ।

म॒हान्त॑ं चिद् अर्बु॒दं नि क्र॑मीः प॒दा स॒नाद् ए॒व द॑स्युहत्या॑य जज्ञिषे ॥

1.051.06 You have defended Kutsa in fatal fights with S'us'na; you have destroyed S'ambara in defence of Atithigva; you have trodden with your foot upon the great Arbuda; frm remote times were you born for the destruction of oppressors. [S'us'na, S'ambara and Arbuda are asuras. Kutsa is a r.s.i; Atithigva = hospitable, Divoda_sa].

त्वम् आ॑य॒सम् प्रति॑ वर्तयो॒ गोर् दि॒वो अश्मा॑न॒म् उप॑नीत॒म् ऋभ्वा॑ ।

कुत्सा॑य॒ यत्र॑ पुरुहूत व॒न्वञ् छुष्ण॑म् अ॒नन्तैः॑ परि॒यासि॑ व॒धैः ॥

1.121.09 You did hurl your metal bolt upon the quick-moving (asura), the swift destroyer of foes, that was brought (to you) by R.bhu from heaven; when you, who are worshipped by many, striking S'us.n.a, for the sake of Kutsa, did encompass him with numberless fatal (weapons). [Brought by R.bhu from heaven: divo a_ni_tam R.bhva_; R.bhu = Tvas.t.a_, fabricator of Indra's thunderbolt. S'us.n.a = drought; Indra removes drought for the benefit of his worshippers,by many drops of rain].

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उशना यत् सहस्यैर् अयातं गृहम् इन्द्र जूजुवानेभिर् अश्वैः ।
वन्वानो अत्र सरथं ययाथ कुत्सेन देवैर् अवनोर् ह शुष्णम् ॥

5.029.09 (R.s.i: Gaurivi_ti S'a_ktya) When, Indra, you and Us'anas, with vigorous and rapid courses went to the dwelling of Kutsa, then destroying his foes, you went in one chariot with Kutsa and the gods, and verily you have slain S'us.n.a.

आ दस्युघ्ना मनसा याह्य् अस्तम् भुवत् ते कुत्सः सख्ये निकामः ।
स्वे योनौ नि षदतं सरूपा वि वां चिकित्सद् ऋतचिद् ध नारी ॥
यासि कुत्सेन सरथम् अवस्युस् तोदो वातस्य हर्योर् ईशानः ।
ऋज्रा वाजं न गध्यं युयूषन् कविर् यद् अहन् पार्याय भूषात् ॥
कुत्साय शुष्णम् अशुषं नि बर्हीः प्रपित्वे अह्नः कुयवं सहस्रा ।
सद्यो दस्यून् प्र मृण कुत्स्येन प्र सूरश् चक्रं वृहताद् अभीके ॥

4.016.10 (R.s.i: Va_madeva Gautama) With a mind resolved on killing the Dasyu, you came (to his dwelling), and Kutsa was eager for your friendship; now have you two alighted in his, (Indra's), habitation, and being entirely similar in form the truthful woman has been perplexed (to discriminate between you). [Kutsa: a ra_jar.s.i, the son of Ruru, also a royal saint; Kutsa is the author of several su_ktas (RV 1.010), termed as the son of An:giras; there is also a legendary Kutsa, son of Arjuna; truthful woman has been perplexed: after destroying the enemies of Kutsa, Indra conveyed him to his palace, where S'aci, the wife of Indra, could not tell who her husband was, since both were exactly alike].

4.016.11 You go with Kutsa in the same chariot, determined to defend him; (you) who are the tormentor (of foes), the lord of horses (of the speech) of the wind; on the same day wherein, yoking (to the car) the straight-going steeds, as if to receive food, the sage (Kutsa) has been enabled to cross over (the sea) of calamity.

4.016.12 For Kutsa, you have slain the unhappy S'us.n.a and in the forepart of the day, attended by thousands (you have slain) Kuyava with the thunderbolt; you have swiftly destroyed the Dasyus, and you have cut them to pieces in the battle, with the wheel (of the chariot of) the sun.

महो द्रुहो अप विश्वायु धायि वज्रस्य यत् पतने पादि शुष्णः ।
उरु ष सरथं सारथये कर् इन्द्रः कुत्साय सूर्यस्य सातौ ॥

6.020.05 When S'us.n.a passed away upon the falling of the thunderbolt, then the universal strength of the great oppressor was annihilated, and Indra enlarged their common car for (the use of) his charioteer Kutsa, for (the sake of) the worship of the sn. [su_ryasya sa_tau

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bha_hane nimittabhu_te; uru s.a saratham kar = sama_nuratham vistirn.am akarot; Kuts is the reputed author of the hymns to Su_rya and Us.as: RV. 1.113 and 115].

त्वम् अपो यदवे तुर्वशायारमयः सुदुघाः पार इन्द्र ।
उग्रम् अयातम् अवहो ह कुत्सं सं ह यद् वाम् उशनारन्त देवाः ॥

5.031.08 (R.s.i: Avasyu A_treya) You, Indra, (abiding on the further bank), have rendered the fertilizing waters agreeable to Yadu and Turvas'u; you two, (Indra and Kutsa), have assailed the fierce (S'us.n.a), and (having slain him), you have conveyed Kutsa (to his dwelling), and Us'ana_s and the gods have therefore honoured you both.

त्वं वृध इन्द्र पूर्व्यो भूर् वरिवस्यन्न् उशने काव्याय ।
परा नववास्त्वम् अनुदेयम् महे पित्रे ददाथ स्वं नपातम् ॥

6.020.11 (R.s.i: Bharadva_ja Ba_rhaspatya) Desirous of opulence, you, Indra, have been an ancient benefactor of Us'anas, the son of Kavi; having slain Navava_stva, you have given back his own grandson, who was (fit) to be restored to the grandfather.

युवं कवी ष्ठः पर्य् अश्विना रथं विशो न कुत्सो जरितुर् नशायथः ।
युवोर् ह मक्षा पर्य् अश्विना मध्व् आसा भरत निष्कृतं न योषणा ॥

10.040.06 Sage As'vins, stand by your chariot; make it approach (the sacrifice) of the worshipper, as Kutsa (made his chariot approach) men, the fly carries your honey, As'vins, in its mouth as a woman carries purified (honey). [As Kutsa...men: Kutsa and Indra ride in the same chariot; cf. RV 4.16.11; as a woman: cf. RV 1.119.2].

युवं ह भुज्युं युवम् अश्विना वशं युवं शिञ्जारम् उशनाम् उपारथुः ।
युवो रराव परि सख्यम् आसते युवोर् अहम् अवसा सुम्नम् आ चके ॥

10.040.07 You came, As'vins, to the rescue of Bhujyu, you came to the rescue of Vas'a, you came to S'in~ja_ra to (hear) his desirable (praise); the offerer of oblations besieges your friendship; and I desire happiness through your protection. [S'in~ja_ra: cf. RV 8.5.25; S'in~ja_ra was an Atri; As'vins came to rescue him from a fire-pit].

> This r.ca may also refer to Us'anas and the association with the fire-pit is notable, in the context of 'kavi' as a 'smith'.

अहम् अत्कं कवये शिश्नथं हथैर् अहं कुत्सम् आवम् आभिर् ऊतिभिः ।
अहं शुष्णस्य श्नथिता वधर् यमं न यो रर आर्यं नाम दस्यवे ॥

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10.049.03(R.s.i: Indra Vaikun.t.ha) I smote Atka with many weapons for the defence of the sage; with those protections I preserved Kutsa; I am the slayer of S'us.n.a; I grasped the thunderbolt I who have not given the water (na_ma) of the A_ryas to the Dasyu.

स व्राध॑तः शवसा॒नेभि॑र् अस्य॒ कुत्सा॑य॒ शुष्णं॑ कृप॒णे परा॑दात् ।
अ॒यं क॒विम् अ॑नयच् छ॒स्यमा॑न॒म् अत्क॒ं यो अ॑स्य॒ सनि॑ता॒त नृ॒णाम् ॥

10.099.09 Let him overthrow the mighty with powerful (weapons); he destroyed S'us.n.a for the sake of the liberal Kutsa; he humiliated Kavi, who praised him, who was the giver of form to Indra and his men. [Kutsa: kutsa_ya s'us.n.amas'us.am ni barhi_h : RV 4.16.12; let him overthrow: asya = his, s'avasa_nebhih; or, asyatu, let him throw; Kavi = Us'ana_, the son of Kavi].

Ga_tha_s of Avestan are contemporaneous with the Pura_n.as of the Vedic tradition in Bharat.

Let us start with some excerpts from Arthur Christensen, 1932, *Les Kayanides*. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Sellskab, Hist.-Filos. Meddelelser XIX.2. Copenhagen (accents are affixed):

"Kayanides et Achemenides. Exposition des problemes. Le fait que Vis.ta_spa, le protecteu royal de Zoroastre, dont l'existence historique est assure'e par les Ga_tha_s, porte le me^me nom que le pe`re de Darius I, a porte' quelques savants a` croir qu'il s'agit la` d'un meme peronnage, et on a cherche a prouver leur identite' par de arguments diffe'rents...A l'avis de M. Hertel (Achaemeniden und Kayaniden, p.55), la se'rie des Kavis anciens (la s'erie qui commence par Kava_ta et finit par Haosravah) repre'sente possiblement des chefs de tribu est-iraniens, historiques on le'gendaires...Mais l'essentiel, pour M. Herzfeld comme pour M. Hertel, est l'identite' de Kavi Vis.ta_spa avec Vis.ta_spa l'Achemenide, satrape de Parthava...C'est a` ce Vis.ta_spa que s'addressai le prophe`te Zoroastre, venant de Raga, qui e'tait son pays natal... (pp. 1-4)

"M. Herzfeld s'exprime en ces termesk-ci (Modi Memorial Volume, p. 199): "Our explanation becomes a fact, established beyond any possible doubt, by another observation hitherto left aside: the region, so minutely described in the Yashts, is the land from which, at the Last Day, the So_shyans will appear. Now, to expect the coming of the Saviour from a distant place, implies that the same place, Sistan, was considered to have been the original place of the teaching of the prophet..." (p.5)

"Ces premiers rois et he'ros le'gendaires, dont l'histoire est caracte'rise'e par des mythes indo-iraniens, sont suivis par les rois a` titre de kavi, place's dans le me^me ordre dans le Yas.ts 13 (132) et 19 (71 sqq.), a` savoir: Kavi Kava_ta, Kavi Aipivohu, Kavi Usadan, Kavi Ars.an, Kavi Pisinah, Kavi Byars.an, Kavi Sya_vars.an et Kavi Haosravah (Husraavah). Avec ce dernier finit la se'rie des rois pre'=zoroastriens. Kavi VIs.ta_spa, qui est nomme' se'pare'ment, au dehors de la se'rie des huit kavis pre'ce'dents, est le dernier des anciens rois mentionne's dans l'Avesta re'cen... Le fravas.i de Kavi Haosravah est invoque'e "pour re'sister aux sorciers et aux sorcie`res, aux kavis et aux karpans tyranniques et aux maux cause's par les tyrans" (Yt. 13.133-135)...(pp.18-19)

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"Le passage du Bundahis.n que nous venons de citer, e'nume`re trois fils de Spandya_d: Vahman, A_durtarsah (Ataro_tarsah) et Mihrtarsah (MItro_tarsah)...Ardas.i_r Pa_baga_n, le fondateur de la dynastie sassanide, e'tait un descendant direct de ce Vahman. L'identifications de Vahman-Ardas.i_r avec l'Acheme'nide Artaxerxe I date probablement des temps post-sassnides..." (p. 98).

"Dans l'Avesta, Keresa_spa es le he'ros d'innombrables aventures. Il est le fils d Trita de la famille des Sa_mas, un homme aux cheveux boucle's, arme' d'une massue, le plus fort parmi les hommes, le fre`re du le'gislateur fameux Urva_xs.aya... Selon le Vendi_da_d (1.9) Keresa_spa se laissa se'duire par la sorcie`re Xna_vaiti_, qui hantait le pays de Vae_kereta (Kaboulistan). Son corps (immortel) est garde' par 99,999 fravas.is (Yt. 13.61). E'videmment, le Keresa_spa de l'Avesta est un ancien tueur de dragons et he'ros de conte populaire, dont les exploits fabuleux ont rec,u, tant bien que mal, une interpre'tation religieuse...(pp.99-100)

"Les Yas.ts e'tablissent un certain rapport entre Yima et Keresa_spa. La Gloire, le xvarenah, abandonna Yima par trois fois ou pluto^t en trois portions, dont la premie`re fut saisie par le dieu Mitra, la deuxie`me par Trae_taona et la troisie`me par Keresa_spa (Yt. 1.30-38). La distribution des deux dernie`res portions entre les deux he'ros est conforme a` la logique de la le'gende, car Trae_taona (Fre_do_n) est celui qui enchai^ne Azi Daha_ka, le meurtrier de Yima, et Keresa_spa le tuera au jour du jugement dernier. Le Y.9 place Keresa_spa entre Trae_taona et Zoroastre, le Yt.9 entre Trae_taona et Franrasyan, le Yt. 15 entre Trae_taona et Kavi Haosravah. Donc, il a partout sa place naturelle apre`s Trae_taona comme le second he'ritier de la Gloire de Yima (Le Yt. 13.130 sqq. a une autre succession des he'ros, sans Keresa_spa)...Apre`s Manus.civra on a place' la pe'riode d'oppression sous Franrasyan et la restitutuion avec le re`gne d'Uzava..." (pp. 103-104).

"De quelques noms emprunte's aux arbres ge'ne'alogiques de Fra_nag (?) et de Lo_hra_sp on a compose' le tableau suivant des ance^tres de Kay Kava_d (T.abari_, p. 533; Fa_Rsna_mah, ex. Le Strange et Nicholson, p. 14):

"Manus.cihr -- No_dar -- Manus. -- No_dara_n, No_daragan -- Rag -- Kay Kava_d, marie' avec Fra_nag, fille du chef turkestanien Vitirisa_ (Bidirisa_, T.ab.)... (p.107).

"Sur la ge'ne'alogie de Kars.a_sp il existe deux versions: (A) Fre_do_n -- Tu_c -- Du_ro_s.a_sp -- Spae_nya_sp -- Tu_rag -- Nari_ma_n -- Sa_m -- Atrit -- Kars.a_sp. (B) Manus.cihr -- Du_ro_srav -- Racan -- Narse_ - As.k -- Tahma_sp -- Nari_man -- Kars.a_sp... (p. 130).

"EXCURSUS. Les immortels d'apre`s les sources pehlvies. Su_dgar Nask (De_nkard 9.16.12; 9.15.11 de l'e'd. de Peshotan): Les septs souverains immortels du Xvani_Ras: Van e_ yud-be_s. dans l'Era_n-ve_J; Go_pad(s.a_h) en Ane_ran; Pis.iyo_tan a` Kangde_z; Frada_xs.t e_ Xumbi_g dans le eaux des canaux; As.avazd, fils de Po_rudaxs.t dans la plaine de Pe_s.anse_; Barazd, qui provoque le combat; Kay Xusrav; Su_dgar Nask (commentaire Pehlvi); De_nkard 9.23; 9.22 de l'e'd. de Peshotan): Haois., fils de Geurva; To_s; Kay Abive_h; Kay Xusrav; Kars.a_sp. (p. 153).

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Indian Tradition: Kavi Us'anas in Pratis.t.ha_na

As in Iran, so in India, all royal lineages are traced to Manu (Vaivasvata). Cognate names are: Manus.cihr (Manu Vaivasvata), Du_ro_srav (Dhr.s.t.a), Na_ri_man (Naris.yanta), Atrit (Sarya_ti), Racan (Rambha), As.k (S'ivi Aus'ina_ra), Kars.a_sp (Karu_s.a).

Among the r.s.is, the chronology of the Bha_rgavas is: Cyavana, Us'anas-s'ukra (called a kavi or kavi's son or Ka_vya), s'an.d.a and marka (apnava_na), u_rva. Us'anas-S'ukra is associated with the Daityas, Da_navas and Asuras (Pargiter, p. 194). S'ukra's wife was the pitr.-kanya_ Go, and they had four sons: Tvas.t.r, Varu_trin, S'an.d.a (or S.an.d.a) and Marka. S'an.d.a and Marka were priests of the asuras according to Vedic literature (both are called asura-raks.as, S'atapatha Bra_hman.a 4,2.1,4-6). Were Ma_rkan.d.eyas descended from Marka? In the Yajus, the As'vins drink before S'an.d.a and Marka. (TS 1.4.7-9; S'Br 4.1.5; 2.1; KS'S 9.9.20 ff; Yajn~es'varas'arman, A_ryavidya_sudha_kara, p. 86).

"Cyavana is always connected with the west of India, the country around the GUlf of Cambay, in or near S'arya_ti's territory Anarta (Gujarat) as shown by the story of his marrying Sukanya_, and by the statement that he performed austerities near the Vaidu_rya Mts (The west portion of the Satpura range) and the River Narmada_. Us'anas-S'ukra is connected rather with the central region of N. India, for Yaya_ti king of Pratis.t.ha_na (ALlahabad) met his daughter Devaya_ni_ near his own territory and married her; and Kapa_lamocana on the Sarasvati_ is called his ti_rtha...It seems probable that Ma_rkan.d.a is to be connected with Marka, son of Us'anas-S'ukra..." (pp. 196-197, 203).

"The kings were all ma_nvas, and the rishis were connected with the Ma_nvas or with Daityas and Da_navas. Only one hymn is ascribed to an early Aila, viz. x.95 to Puru_ravas...Not a single other hymn is attributed to an early Aila king until S'ivi Aus'i_nara (x,179) and Ga_thi or Ga_dhi (iii,19 to 22)...THose Ma_nva kings all reigned at Ayodhya_ or in the Vais'a_li_ realm, that is, in the eastern region, except S'arya_ta who was in the west. No hymns are assigned to anyone who lived in the north-west until S''ivi. These facts supply ground for the declaration that the Vedas were first chanted in the eastern region -- not in the north-west...They rather suggest that the making of hymns passed with the above describd approximation of the brahmans to the Ailas; and it is probable that the Aila VIs'va_mitra on becoming a brahman modified the older and perhaps cruder brahmanic character and functions; and, if so, the difference would have accentuated the hostility that Vasis.t.ha (who was a Ma_nva brahman) showed to his brahmanhood." (pp. 312-313).

Us'anas is 26 in the genealogy list of ya_dava royalty: manu, ila_, puru_ravas, ayu, nahus.a, yaya_ti, yadu, kros.t.u, vr.jini_vant, sva_hi, rus'adgu, citraratha, s'as'abindu, pr.thus'ravas, antara, suyajn~a and then Us'anas. (p. 144)

"Tradition naturally begins with myth, and he myth that seeks to explain the earliest conditions in India derives all the dynasties that reigned there (not the populace) from a primaeval king Manu Vaivasvata, son of Vivasvant (the sun)...It is narrated in three forms, of which the second and third have more in common than the first. According to the first, (Matsya 11,40 to 12,19; Padma 5,8,75-124), Manu had ten sons of whom the eldest was Ila, and Ila while on conquest entered S'iva's grove S'aravana and became changed into a woman, Ila_, because Uma_ had laid a curse that any male creature which entered it should become female. Ila_ consorted with Budha, son of Soma, and Ila had by him a son Puru_ravas Aila. Then through S''iva's favour Ila_ became a Kimpurus.a named Sudyumna, a man one month and a woman another month. According to the second form (Va_yu 85. Bd. 3,60), Manu had nine sons and offered a sacrifice to Mitra and Varun.a to obtain a son, but a daughter Ila_ was born thereform. She met

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Budha and bore Puru_ravas. Then she became a man named Sudyumna but through the same curse regained manhod as Sudyumna. The third form (Vis.n.u 4,1,5-11; Ma_rk 111; Bha_g 9,1,11-40) agrees generally in this version, but places the transformation into manhood and back again into womanhood before she met Budha..." (Pargiter, pp. 253-254).

"The nine sons assigned to Manu were Iks.va_ku, Na_bha_ga (or Nr.ga), Dhr.s.t.a, S'arya_ti, Naris.yanta, Pra_m.s'u, Na_bha_nedis.t.ha, Karu_s.a and Pr.s.adhra. From Karu_s.a were descended the numerous ks.atriya clans of the Ka_ru_s.as, ho were determined fighters. They occupied the Karu_s.a counry, the region round the modern Rewa and eastwards to the River Sone. From Dhr.s.t.a came a number of clans called Dh_rs.t.akas, who were reckoned ks.atriyas. Nothing further is said about them except that the S"iva says they occupied the Balhi_ka country, which may mean Balkh, but was more probably the Va_Hli_ka country in the PUnjab. About Naris.yanta's offspring there is much confusion. SOme Puranas say they were the S'akas. If so, they lay outside India. The late Bha_gavata gives a list of his descendants, and says they developed ito the Agnives'ya_yana brahmans; but this, if true, more probably refers to Naris.yanta, king of the Vais'a_la dynasty. Pr.s.adhra, it is said became a s'u_dra, because he killed his guru's cow and was cursed: and two Puranas say the gur was Cyavana. Na_bha_ga and his son Ambari_s.a probably reigned on the River Jumna...Na_bha_nedis.t.ha's line reigned in the country of Vais'a_li_; and S'arya_ti, who is called S'arya_ta in brahmanical books, founded the dynasty of A_narta... (pp. 256-257).

"The most exhaustive study ... by Arthur Christensen in his book on the Kayanian dynasty of Iran (Christensen, A.,1932, Les Kayanides. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Sellskab, Hist.-Filos. Meddelelser XIX.2. Copenhagen). In it he argued that the rulers who are styled Kauui in the Avesta (Kauui Kauua_ta, etc.) were most probably historical figures, in contrast to those preceding them, who did not carry this title and were probably just mythological figures (Yima, Trae_taona, etc.). That the latter group is comprised of mythological figures is easily proved by the fact that they are common to both the old Indians and the old Iranians and therefore must have belonged to the pre-Iranian traditions of the Indo-Iranians. Therefore, they clearly cannot belong to the early history of the Iranians after their separation from the Indians...the list of Kauuis also contains at least one figure that is also found in Indian tradition, as shown by Lommel and Dumezil, namely Kauuui Usan/Usad.an, who both by name and by the legends associated with him corresponds to Ka_vya Us'anas of Indian tradition. There is therefore every reason to conclude that the list of Kauuis also contains only mythological figures (Kellens, J., 1979, L'Avesta Comme source historique: La liste des Kayanides. In Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia, ed. by J. Harmatta, 41-53. Budapest, Akademiai Kiado). As for the title kauui itself, although in the later Zoroastrian tradition it designates political rulers, there is no evidence in the Avesta that it is used other than as a designation of a special kind of priest. In the Gathas it is closely related to terms such as karapan and usij, both designate special kinds of priests, and its Indian relative kavi has nothing to do with political power, but designates the poet priest. The kauuis listed in the yashts are also not described as rulers, for which Avestan has a series of very specific terms consisting of a word for territory plus paiti 'lord'. When kauui is not used as a title it is commonly found in lists of opponents of the Zoroastrian religion, a notion inherited from the Gathas, where the kauuis are portrayed as opponents of Zarathustra, with the exception of Kauui Vis.ta_spa, who supported him. Nevertheless, the Gathis Kauui Vis.ta_spa is commonly portrayed in Western scholarly literature as the royal patron of Zarathustra, primarily no doubt, through the influence of the later Zoroastrian tradition, (in which Vis.ta_spa is a king, who, together with his minister, Ja_ma_sp, goes to battle against Arza_sp in the defense of the new faith), but partly also through the interpretation of some Avestan passages. Thus, in Yt 5.68, Ja_ma_spa is said to have sacrificed to Ana_hita_ as he confronted an army of liars and dae_ua worshippers, and in passages of Yt. 19 Kauui Vis.ta_spa is said to have fought for the good religion. The Avestan passages provide no basis for any interpretation of Kauui VIs.ta_spa's position other than as a supporter of the faith (Kellns, J., 1979, L'Avesta comme source historique: La liste des

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Kayanides. In Studies in the Sources on the History of pre-Islamic Central Asia, ed. J. Harmatta, Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, p. 51)...Note also the name R.tacanah 'loving R.ta' in the Elamite and Aramaic documents from Persepolis. THe Persepolis texts contain numerous deities and theophoric names (Mazdada_Ta, Mitrapa_ta, Bagapa_ta, etc.) which show that Avestan deities other than Ahuramazda_, as well as non-Avestan deities, were worshipped (or at least known) in southwestern IRan under Darius and Xerxes. Artaxerxes II (405/6-359/8) in his inscriptions called upon Mitra and Ana_hita_ besides Ahuramazda_ to protect him and his work, and the Aramaic letters from Elephantine written in that period contain such peronal names of Avestan background as A_rmati_da_Ta 'given by A_rmati_'. From about 490 BC we find the Avestan calendar in use in Cappadocia, one of the western provinces of the Achaemenid empire (Duchesne-Guillemin, J., 1962, La religion de l'Iran ancien. Paris, PResses Universitaires de France, p. 121). It soon replaced the old Persian 'farmer's' calendar everywhere." (P. Oktor Skjaervo, 1995, The Avesta as source for the early history of the Iranians, in: George Erdosy, ed., *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co.)

Like the Vedas, Avesta was also transmitted orally. The old Avestan texts of yas.ts were transmitted with a fidelity comparable to the transmission of the R.gveda.

Humbach suggests the date to 1080 BC for Zarathustra, primarily based on the classical Greek sources (which were earlier used to date Zarathustra to ca. 600 BC). (Humbach.H., et al., 1991, The Ga_tha_s of Zarathustra and the other Old Avestan texts. 2 vols., Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitatsverlag, pp. 24-27). Humbach's conclusions are: (p. 23):

"It must be emphasised that th process of polarisation of relations between the Ahuras and the Dae_vas is already complete in the Ga_tha_s, whereas, in the Rigveda, the reverse process of polarisation between the Devas and the Asuras, which does not begin before the later parts of the RIgveda, develops as it were before our very eyes, and is not completed until the later Vedic period. Thus, it is not all likely that the origins of the polarisation are to be sought in the prehistorical, the Proto-Aryan period. More likely, Zarathushtra's reform was the result of independent developments, when Irano-Indian contacts still persisted at the dawn of history. With their Ahura-Dae_va ideology, the Mazdayasnians, guided by their prophet, deliberately dissociated themselves from the Deva-Asura concept which was being developed, or had been developed, in India, and probably also in the adjacent Iranian-speaking countries...All this suggests a synchrony between the later Vedic period and Zarathushtra's reform in Iran."

The corpus of the Rigveda is emphatic proof of the settlement of Proto-Aryan Deva and Asura in the region around Kuruks.etra and upto Parus.n.i_ river. The evolution of the Avestan Ahura is apparently relatable to this locus of Northwest India, between the Rivers Sarasvati_ and Parus.n.i_.

It is, therefore, reasonable to surmise that as the Avestan tradition moved into the hinterland of Iran, the memories of life together were retained and a tributary of Helmand was called Haraqvaiti, in memory of the River Sarasvati_ of Northwest India. The Kavi who were left in India continued the Vedic tradition into the Bra_hman.a; the Kavi who moved into Iran continued the 'smithy' tradition and became chieftains. Zarathushtra's followers who were opposed to the 'kavi' remembered the Vedic Soma as Haoma and embellished it as a process of purification of a plant. The Rasa_ (evoking Soma rasa or potable gold-silver, electrum) became a mythical border river which separated the two peoples of Iran and India.

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That clave unto Kavi Kavata, and unto Kavi Aipivohu, and unto Kavi Usadha, and unto Kavi Arshan, and unto Kavi Pisina, and unto Kavi Byarshan, and unto Kavi Syavarshan (Zamya_d Yasht 19.71).

He carries the chariot of the lords; he carries the chariots of the lordly ones, the chariots of the sovereigns. He carried the chariot of Kavi Usa; upon his wings runs the male horse, runs the burden-bearing camel, runs the water of the river. (Warharan (or Bahra_m) Yasht 14.39)

'Offer up a sacrifice, O Spitama Zarathushtra! unto this spring of mine, Ardvi Sura Anahita.... 'To her did the great, most wise Kavi Usa offer up a sacrifice from Mount Erezifya, with a hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, ten thousand lambs. [A_ba_n (or Aban, Hymn to the Waters) Yasht 5.45]

We worship the Fravashi of the holy Spiti, the son of Uspasnu;
We worship the Fravashi of the holy Erezraspa, the son of Uspasnu.
We worship the Fravashi of the holy Usadhan, the son of Mazdayasna.
We worship the Fravashi of the holy Fradat-vanghu, the son of Stivant.
We worship the Fravashi of the holy Raochas-chaeshman;
We worship the Fravashi of the holy Hvare-chaeshman
We worship the Fravashi of the holy Frasrutara;
We worship the Fravashi of the holy Visrutara. [Frawardin (or Farvardi_n Yasht
("Hymn to the Guardian Angels") 13.121]

These Avestan texts refer to Kavi Usan (or Us'ana_), Kavi Kava_ta (later identified with Kaikoba_d) and Kavi Usadhan (later identified with Kaikaus). In the tradition of Zarathushtra, the Kavis are condemned perhaps as a group who had joined the enemies. Perhaps, there is an intimation of the increasing animosity between the kavis who are smiths (who later become chieftains) and kavis who are priests. Zarathushtra refers to the Us'ij (Aus'ija) identifying them with Karapan (Y 44.20), a term used for enemy priests. He also refers to grahma as the persistent enemies (Y 32.12-14). It is unclear if this is concordant with gra_ma in RV 3.33.11 (which refers to the troops of Bharata).

The Anu king who is (Anu are identified with the Parus.n.i_ river) called Kavi Ca_yama_na (RV 7.18.8) fights against Suda_s (RV 7.18.12). Another Ca_yama_na is referred to as Abhya_vartin Ca_yama_na, a descendant of Pr.thu (RV 6.27.8):

द्व॒याअ॑ग्ने र॒थिनो॑ विृलतश॒तिं गा व॒धूम॑तो म॒घवा॒ मह्यं॑ स॒म्राट् ।
अ॒भ्या॒व॒ती चा॑यमा॒नो द॑दाति दू॒णाशे॒यं दक्षि॑णा पार्थ॒वाना॑म् ॥

6.027.08 The opulent supreme sovereign Abhya_vartin, the son of Ca_yama_na, presents, Agni, to me two damsels riding in cars, and twenty cows; this donation of the descendant of Pr.thu cannot be desroyed. [Two damsels: dvaya_n rathino vim.s'ati ga_ vadhu_mantah = rathasahita_n vadhu_matah stri_yukta_n dvaya_n mithunabhu_ta_n, being in pairs, having women together with cars; twenty animals, pas'u_n; perhaps, the gift comprised of twenty pairs of oxen yoked two and two in chariots; the gift of females to saintly persons; this donation: du_n.a_s'eyam daks.in.a_

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pa_rthava_na_m = na_s'ayitum as'akya_; pa_rthava: Abhya_vartin, as descended from Pr.thu, the plural is used honorifically].

अध॑ श्रु॒तं क॒वषं॑ वृ॒द्धम् अ॒प्स्व् अनु॑ द्रु॒ह्युं नि वृ॑ण॒ग् वज्र॑बाहुः ।
वृ॒णा॒ना अत्र॑ स॒ख्याय॑ स॒ख्यं त्वा॒यन्तो॒ ये अम॑दु॒न्न् अनु॑ त्वा ॥

7.018.12 You, the bearer of the thunderbolt, did drown S'ruta, Kavas.a, Vr.ddha and afterwards Druhyu, in the waters; for they, Indra, who are devoted to you, and glorify you, preferring your friendship, enjoy it.

दु॒रा॒ध्यो॒ अदि॑तिं स्रे॒वय॑न्तो ऽचे॒तसो॒ वि ज॑गृभ्रे॒ परु॑ष्णीम् ।
म॒ह्नावि॑व्यक् पृथि॒वीम् पत्य॑मानः प॒शुष् क॒विर् अ॑शय॒च् चाय॑मानः ॥

7.018.08 The evil-disposed and stupid (enemies of Suda_sa), crossing the humble Parus.n.i river, have broken down its banks; but he by his greatness pervades the earth, and Kavi, the son of Ca_yamana, like a falling victim, sleeps (in death). [Sleeps in death: killed Suda_sa].

The Kavis or kings in the Ga_tha_s and the Yashts and parallels in Vedic tradition of Bha_rata

In the Vedic tradition, kavi is a poet, a seer and is used of Soma and the soma-priest. "In Iran the term kavi and its Middle Iranian derivatives of kav, kay, appear in various usages. In the Ga_tha_s Zoroaster speaks harshly of the kavis who are hostile to his teachings; but his patron Vi_s.ta_spa, the ruler who finally accepted his doctrines, bore the title of kavi, and so, according to tradition, did his ancestors befor ehim. In the Manichaean scriptures composed in Middle Iranian (which in their vocabulary owe much to Zoroastrianism) kav is used of gods and men, in the latter case in the sense of 'giant'. In Zoroastrian tradition, except in one particular formula of execration, kay means 'king', evidently because Kavi Vi_s.ta_spa and his forbears, the 'kavis' par excellence, were princely rulers. (Christensen, 1932, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen; cf. citation below from English translation. Christensen followed the then accepted interpretation of Gathic kavi simply as 'prince, ruler', as did Lommel, *Yasht's*, 171-2. Against this see K. Barr, *Avesta*, Copenhagen 1954, 206; Gershevitch, AHM 185-6. On the Indian r.s.i and kavi see J. Gonda, *The vision of the Vedic Poets*, The Hague 1963). Presumably the gift of prophecy, of mantic poetry, was he3reditary in their family; but whether the Iranian kavi was ever also a priest, or whether as in Israel mantic prophecy was freely cultivated by men outside the priesthood, there seems to be no means of knowing. It is perhaps significant, however, that Zoroaster, who was both priest and prophet, appears to have regarded the kavis as being of a different order, and described himself as mathran, one who has revealed mathras rather than ka_vyas...With the hostile kavi Zoroaster linked the karapans and usij. The latter mentioned only once (Y. 44.20), can be identified with the Vedic us'ij. In the Vedas too he is rarely referred to, but like the kavi he appears to have been a 'wise man', and the two terms seem to be used sometimes interchangeably. (See M. Haug, *Essays on the sacred language, writings and religion of the Parsis*, 3rd ed., London, 1884, 289; Bartholomae, *Air. Wb*. 406). The karapan has no Vedic equivalent; but he is spoken of several times in the Ga_tha_s, and in the later or 'Younger' Avesta he appears together with the kavi in a stereotyped formula of execration, which enumerates the foes of Zoroastrianism. He represents there, it is thought, the priest of the dae_vic cult. The

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word has been connected with Sanskrit kalpa 'ritual', with the deduction that karapan meant a ritual priest, one engaged in ceremonies (See Haug, opcit, 289-90; Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 455); but latterly it has been suggested (See Henning, *Zoroaster*, 45) that the word should rather be asociated with a Khwarezmian verb karb- 'moan, mumble' (Skt. kr.p-), in which case one might suppose it to have been used perjoratively by Zoroaster for the ordinary conservatively-minded priest, repeating or 'mumbling' liturgies and prayers without much thought for their meaning. By either interpretation the karapans are taken to be working priests, whereas the kavis and usijs had, it appears, mantic powers of wisdom and prophecy." (Mary Boyce, 1996, *A History of Zoroastrianism, Vol. I The Early Period,* Leiden, EJ Brill, pp. 11-12).

Us'anas-S'ukra is a Kavi (MBh. 1.76.3196; Pad. 6.8.46). He is placed later than Cyavana who is connected with Manu's son S'arya_ti. S'ukra is connected with Yaya_ti who was later. "Hence, the two most ancient Bha_rgavas were Cyavana, who is called Cyava_na in Veic literature, and Us'anas-S'ukra...Us'anas-S'ukra...is generally connected with the Daityas, Da_navas and asuras...being called their guru, a_ca_rya_, upa_dhya_ya, purohita, and ya_jaka.". (FE Pargiter, 1922, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, repr. 1962, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, p. 194).

Vi_s.ta_spa may mean, 'he who has trained horses', see Bailey, *JRAS* 1953, 101-3. There are royal names in the tradition of Pura_n.a-s of Bha_rata with -as'va endings: Ka-n.va-kubja genealogy: Bala_ka_s;va, Kus'a_s'va; Paurava: raudra_s'va; Ayodhya: Br.hadas'va, Kuvala_s'va, Dr.d.ha_s'va, Samhata_s'va, Akr.s'a_s'va, Trasadas'va, Haryas'va and so on. (FE Pargiter, opcit., pp. 144-149).

In the Vedic tradition, Kavi Us'anas is a r.s.i (RV 4.26.1); a variant name is: Us'anas Ka_vya who is also a r.s.i or seer. (RV 1.51.10; 83.5; 121,12; 4.16.2; 6.20.11; 8.23.17; 9.87.3; 97.7; 10.40.7; probably also 1.130.9; 5.31.8; 34.2; 8.7.26; 10.22.6; AV 4.29.6). He is often associated with Kutsa and Indra. He is a Purohita of the Asuras. (Taittiri_ya Samhita_ 2.5.8.5; Pan~cavims'a Bra_hman.a 7.5.20; S'a_n:kha_yana S'rauta Su_tra 14.27.1). Kavi Us'anas is a teacher. (Pan~cavims'a Br. 14.12.5; Jaimini_ya Upanis.ad Br. 2.7.2.6).Us'ana_, the son of Kavi is renowned for making Agni and as the ministrant priest and offerer of the yajn~a for Manu (RV 8.23.17). He is referred to as a r.s.i and as a leader of the people. His poetic gift enabled him to discover the secret milk of cows of Indra which was concealed (RV 9.87.3). He fashioned the thunderbolt for Indra for slaying Vr.tra (RV 1.121.12; 5.34.2). He drove the celestial cows when Atharvan, the institutor of the yajn~a prepared the path for the sun (RV 1.83.5). Soma is compared to Us'anas in his wisdom (RV 9.97.7). Deva-s entreated Us'anas to come to their side and away from the Asuras by using aus'ana sa_mans (wish cows) (PBr. 7.5.20; TS 2.5.8.5). Us'anas Ka_vya desired to obtain vast dominion and he saw Aus'anas Sa_man by practising austerities. (PBr. 14.12.5; J.Up.Br. 2.7.2-6). Us'ana_ is also referred to as a name of a plant from which soma was prepared. He is referred to as S'ukra_ca_rya and as the author of S'ukrani_ti, a school of politics. These attributes link Kavi Us'anas with the Avestan Kavis who are smiths who become kings and who are also seers (kavi and karapan-- seers and priests).

IN RV 7.4.4 Agni is adored: 'the prescient, immortal Agni has been given a place among the mortal beings as the sage or wise (kavih) among the unwise (akavis.u)'. In RV 8.84.2, Agni is described as praceta_h (above human understanding) like a kavih; in RV 10.110.1 Agni is the messenger, the kavih, the praceta_h; in RV 3.29.5 Agni is invoked as kavim...pracetasam. In these contexts, kavih is a seer, a r.s.i, an inspired and wise person.

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The prophet Zarathus.t.ra speaks of his poverty and the limited numbers of his supporters (Y.46.2) and refers to the wickedness of the kavis and karapans (probably the r.s.i-s and the priests), apparently hostile to the prophet.

"1. Gathic Kavis. In the Gathas, Vishtaspa, the most powerful of the adherents and assistants of Zoroaster, often bears the title of kavi which has the significance of 'king' in the east-Iranian native land of Zoroastrianism, Vishtaspa is the only kavi who has taken sides with the Prophet. When the Gathas mention the kavis in the plural, it is a question of enemy princes who follow the daevic religion against which Zoroaster fought; and if the younger Avesta sometimes designates the enemy princes of the faith as kavis ('the kavis and the karapans') then it is in imitation of the Gathic language which most often has no relation with the political and social condition of the times in which the passage was composed. In the Yashts which list the kings of pre-Zoroastrian times, the title of kavi precedes the names of the last of these kings...

"We begin to get a clearer idea of the religious situation in Iran in the last centuries BC. We may suppose that the first deep schism which was produced in the ancient Iranian religion was that which put the worshippers of the ahuras in opposition to the worshippers of the daivas, ahuras being the gods of semi-nomadic farmers, while the daivas were venerated by nomadic brigands...

"3. The first Kavis according to the non-Zoroastrian proto-Yashts. Verses 130-138 of Yasht 13 (Fravardin) gives us the list of the early kings in its primitive form, beginning with Yima, the Indo-Iranian 'first man'. Other proto-Yashts have given a more recent arrangement according to which Yima is preceded by two other legendary persons, Haosyangha Parada ('the one who has been created first') and Takhma Urupi. (See Yts. 5,9,15,17,19). The conqueror and murderer of Yima, the three-headed dragon Azi Dahaka, is in turn overcome by Thraetaona. Some heroes who are mentioned in the Yashts and who, in the Middle-Iranian books, were placed in the series of the ancient kings, namely, Uzava son of Tumaspa, Manuschithra ('the descendant of Manu', another Indo-Iranian type of 'first man') son of Airyava (Yt. 13), and Keresaspa of the family of Sama (Yts. 5,15,19; Ys. 9), have not yet found a fixed place in the chronology of the legendary history. The early kings and legendary heroes, whose history is characterised by Indo-Iranian myths, are followed by kings with the title of Kavi, placed in the same order in Yt. 13,132 and Yt. 19,71, namely: Kavi Kavata, Kavi Aipivohu, Kavi Usadan, Kavi Arsan, Kavi Pisinah, Kavi Byarsan, Kavi Syavarsan and Kavi Haosravah. With this last there ends the series of the pre-Zoroastrian kings. Kavi Vishtaspa, who is named separately, outside the series of the eight preceding Kavis, is the last of the ancient kings mentioned in the recent Avesta verses 96-128 of Yasht 13, which are of Zoroastrian origin, list a great numbers of the champions of the faith, some of whom are evidently contemporaries of Vishtaspa and Zoroaster, and others belonging to the following period; but no king is posterior to Vishtaspa. The history of the Kavis of Eastern Iran ends with him...The period of the Kavis is the first heroidc age of the ancient Iranians." (Arthur Christensen, 1993, *The Kayanians (Les Kayanides),* Bombay, KR Cama Oriental Institute, tr. by FN Tumboowalla; tr. pp.8-30).

The names of these king-lists, are comparable to the lists of kings according to the tradition of Pura_n.a-s in Bha_rata which include names of kings ending with '-as'va' comparable to the Avestan 'vi_s.ta_spa'.

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Kavi, kavas.a

Kavas.a Ailu_s.a (RV 10.30 to 33) who is the purohita of King Kurus'ravas (a Kuru king of Pauravau lineage) is paralleled by the national tradition of Iran which makes much of the blacksmith Kavagh, who revolted against the usurper Dahagh (the Dahaka of the Yashts) and hoisted his leather apron on a lance, which was the origin of the flag of the Sasanian empire called the draft e kavyan, flag of Kavagh. This legend, is not recorded in Avestan religious tradition because the true significance of the name *draft e kavyan* was 'the royal flag'. In the religious tradition, Fredon (Thraetaona of the Yashts) waged war against the demons of Mazanderan.

Kuru-s were Purus; the stupendous feat attributed to Thrae_taona relates to one Pa_urva, the 'wise steersman', whom he flung into the air so fiercely that he sped across the sky for three days and nights, until Aredvi_ heard his prayer and rescued him, seizing him by the arms and bringing him safely down to earth, there to fulfil his vow of making 1000 libations to her at the river Ranha (Yt. 5.61-5). The reference to Pa_urva is another indication that the river Sarasvati_, in the context of the feat attributed to Thrae_taona, is close to the domain of the Kuru kings of the Paurava lineage.

In the r.ca-s (7.18.8 to 12), the locus of the battle fought by Suda_sa is shown to be the river Parus.n.i (River Ravi on the left bank of which is located the archaeological site of Harappa). In this battle, kavas.a are ranged against Suda_sa; thus, the kavas.a-s are clearly located close to and are stated to have crossed the River Parus.n.i. Tura Kavas.eya is the purohit of Janamejaya (Aitareya Bra_hman.a).

"There are two Avestan texts which yield some slight evidence for the geographical advance of the faith. One is the Zamya_d Yas.t, where it is said (v.66) that the royal Khvarenah accompanies him 'who rules

there where is the Lake Kasaoya, which receives the Hae_tumant...'. The Hae_tumant is the modern Helmand, so Lake Kasaoya must be what is now the Ha_mun Lake in Seistan, in the south-east of Iran. The rulers of that region had evidently become such loyal Zoroastrians by the time this verse was composed that a connection was sought for them with the kavis of old, that is, with Vis.ta_spa's line. The justification for this seems to have been a faint similarity between the words Kasaoya and kavi. (The Pahlavi rendering of 'Kasaoya' is 'Kaya_nsih', kaya_n being the Middle Persian plural of Av. kavi. Kasaoya is perhaps in fact a derivative of a proper name *Kasu). The lake in Seistan came to be regarded as belonging to the kavis, and having been given this association was held to guard in its depths the divinely-preserved seed of the prophet, from which the Saos.yants or Saviours will one day come...The other text provides more geographical material, but with less direct bearing on the faith. This is the first fargerd or chapter of the Vide_vda_t (later corrputed to Vendida_d), 'the code abjuring dae_vas'...In it are

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enumerated seventeen lands, headed by Airyanem Vae_jah, some of them otherwise unrecorded, others bearing familiar names...Those lands can be identified -- notably Sughda (Sogdia), Mouru (Margiana), Bakhdhi (Bactria), Haro_yu (Haraiva/Herat), Harakhvaiti (Arachosia) and Hae_tumant (Drangiana/Seistan) -- all belong to the east and north-east of Iran...Khwarezmia does not appear among them. " (Mary Boyce, 1996, *A History of Zoroastrianism, Vol. I*, Leiden, EJ Brill, pp. 274-275).
Western Central Asia [After map in: Holly Pittman, 1984, *Art of the Bronze Age: Southeastern Iran, Western Central Asia, and the Indus Valley*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, p. 35] An elaborate metallurgical industry was found at Altyn Tepe. In Western Central Asia, the beginning of the urban phase occurs at about 2600 BCE and ends at the turnoff the 3rd to the 2nd millennium BCE. (P)hilip L. Kohl, ed., *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia*, Armonk, NY, 1981, pp. xxviii-xxxii). Eastern settlements in Margiana and Bactria thrived in the early centuries of the 2nd millennium BCE.

The first Kavis according to the non-Zoroastrian proto-Yashts

"Verses 130-138 of Yasht 13 (Fravardin) gives us the list of the early kings in its primitive form, beginning with Yima, the Indo-Iranian 'first man'. Other proto-Yashts have given a more recent arrangement according to which Yima is preceded by two other legendary persons, Haosyangha Paradata ('the one who has been created first') and Takhma Urupi. (See Yts. 5,9,15,17,19). The conqueror and murderer of Yima, the three-headed dragon Azi Dahaka, is in turn overcome by Thraetaona. Some heroes who are mentioned in the Yashts and who, in the Middle-Iranian books, were placed in the series of the ancient kings, namely, Uzava son of Tumaspa, Manischithra ('the descendant of Manu', another Indo-Iranian type of 'first man') son of Airyava (Yt. 13), and Keresaspa of thefamily of Sama (Yts. 5,13,19; Ys.19), have not yet found a fixed place in the chronology of the legendary history. These early kings and legendary heroes, whose history is characterised by Indo-Iranian myths, are followed by kings of the title of Kavi, placed in the same order in Yt. 13,132 and Yt. 19,71 namely: Kavi Kavata, Kavi Aipivohu, Kavi Usadan, Kavi Arsan, Kavi Pisinah, Kavi Byarsan, Kavi Syavarsan and Kavi Haosravah. With this last there ends the series of the pre-Zoroastrian kings. Kavi Vishtaspa, whose is named separately, outside the series of the eight preceding Kavis, is the last of the ancient kings mentioned in the recent Avesta. Verses 96-128 of Yasht 13, which are of Zoroastrian origin, list a great number of the champions of the faith, some of whom are evidently contemporaries of Vishtaspa and Zoroaster, and others belonging to the following period; but no king is posterior to Vishtaspa. The history of the Kavis of Eastern Iran ends with him...

"Frangrasyan the Turanian was in possession of the 'Glory of the Kavis' when he killed Zainigav, the adherent of the false faith (Yt. 19.93). Another time he sacrificed in vain to Aredvi in the hope of acquiring the Khvarenah (The Royal Glory) of the Aryan countries which was floating in the middle of Lake Vourukasa (Yt. 5,41-43)...
"The name 'Vourukasa' ('with the wide bays') is originally an epithet, given to a certain lake well-known in the territory inhabited by the Aryans. Nothing compels us to give a mythical explanation to this name in the passages of Yashts 13,19 and 5 where we meet it. It is only in Yt. 8, whose redaction is probably more recent than those of Yts. 13, 19 and 5, and in the Vendidad, a still more recent book, that the name of Vourukasa is used to designate the celestial ocean. What was, then the lake which the Iranians from the time of the oldest Yashts have called Vourukasa? Yt. 19 tells us this expressly: in the section which immediately follows that which we have just cited and which is its logical continuation, in verses 65-69, thge river Haetumant (Etymander, Helmand) and the other rivers which flow into Lake Kasaoya (Lake Hamun in Seistan) are described with a geographical exactness which leaves nothing to be desired. It is said that the Kavian Khvarenah accompanies 'that

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person whose rule commences from Lake Kasaoya, formed by Haetumant'. The Kavian Khvarenah, the Aryan Khvarenah, is joined from time immemorial, to the countries surrounding this lake which Zoroastrianism, has made venerable by its eschatological myths. This lake is placed under the care of 99,999 (fravashis) (Yt. 13,59) and whose sanctity is undoubtedly a pre-Zoroastrian trait. The Zoroastrian redactor of Yt. 5 and the Zoroastrian authors of Yashts 9 and 17 have understood by Vourukasa the lake Chaechasta in the west of Iran and having confused the legend of Yt. 19, 55-64 with the old narratives of the war of Haosravah with Frangrasyan and Keresavazdah, they have localised this event in the neighbourhood of Chaechasta...

"...we can place the organisation of the eastern monarchy between 900 and 750 BC. The migration of the Median tribes into the regions of western Iran seems to have taken place in the 9th century. The earliest mention of the chiefs of the tribe or the petty Median kings is found in an inscription of Salmanassar III, which dates from 835 BC." [Arthur Christensen, 1931, repr.1993, *The Kayanians (Les Kayanides)*, tr. by FN Tumboowalla, Bombay, KR Cama Oriental Institute]

Avestan in mid-3rd and 2nd millennia BC

Zend - Avesta is divided into 5 parts:

Yasna liturgical book of the Parsees
Vispered the lesser liturgy
Vendidad priestly code of the Parsees
Yashts hymn book
Khordah prayer book

"...Old Avestan has all the phonetic characteristics typical of Iranian languages -- e.g. Iranian h = Indian s (Ind. asura, Ir. ahura), spirantisation of stops before consonant including the Indo-Iranian laryngeal H (Ind. satya, Av. haitiia, OPers. Has.iya; Ind. pathah, Av. pato_)...A few geographical names appear to be inherited from Indo-Iranian times. For instance, OPers. Haraiva-, Av. (acc.) Haro_iium and Opers. Harauvati_, Av. Haraxvaiti_, both of which in historical times are located in the area of southern Afghanistan (Herat and Kandahar), corresponding to the two Vedic river names Sarayu- and Sarasvati_. These correspondences are interesting, but tell us nothing about the early geography of the Indi-Iranian tribes...The river Hae_tumant, which flows into the Kasaoiia sea, corresponds to the modern Helmand in Sistan, which flows westward into Lake Hamun...Archaeological excavations by the Italian Mission at S.ahr-e Suxta (Tosi, ed., 1984, Prehistoric Si_sta_n, Rome, IsMEO) in the Helmand delta have shown that in the mid-3rd millennium it 'was apparently the largest settlement on the eastern Iranian plateau' (Dyson, R.H. and Voigt, M.M., 1989, Bronze Age. In Encyclopaedia Iranica vol. IV.5 ed. by E. Yarshater, London and New York, Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 470). When the site was gradually abandoned toward the end of the Bronze Age, numerous villages in the surroundings remained (Ibid, 477), indicating that settlement continued int the 'Avestan period'...In the Vide_vda_d...(Raga_) is listed between the Helmand river and Caxra (assumed to be modern Carx near Ghazna in south-east Afghanistan)...Lake Cae_cas.ta, on the shore of which Kauui Haosrauuah sacrificed (Yt. 5.49) is identified in the later tradition with Urmia sea in Azerbaijan, western Iran, but again the Avesta itself contains no evidence for such a location...'early date' for the older Avesta would be the 14th-11th centuries BC, close to the middle of the second millennium (similarly Boyce, 1992, Zoroastrianism. Its Antiquity and Constant Vigour, Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies, no.7, Costa Mesa, Calif. and New York, Mazda Publishers and Bibliotheca Persica, p. 44-45). This would then postdate the end of the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex by at least 300 years...Chariots are mentioned in the Gathas (implicitly in rati_ 'charioteer', but these belong to the Indo-Iranian period, as they also feature

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prominently in the R.gveda...This society knew metals, notably aiia. The original meaning of this word may have been 'bronze', but its exact meaning in the Gathas cannot be determined. It should be noted, however, that the word for 'iron' in the Iranian languages is different: namely, *a_cwanya-, possibly derived from *a_cu-, 'pointed, sharp'...The fire played a crucial role, as in India, as the transmitter of the human sacrifice to the gods and the approval of the gods back to the humans...(P. Oktor Skjaervo, 1995, The Avesta as source for the early history of the Iranians, in: George Erdosy, ed., *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co., pp. 161-163)

In Zoroaster's theology the Amesha Spentas, or Bountiful Immortals, were divine beings who acted essentially as agents of the power of Ahura Mazda; they were traditionally seven in number: Bounteous Spirit, Good Mind, Truth, Rightmindedness, Dominion, Health, and Life. The first of these, Spenta Mainyu, is of special importance in that he is paired with a "twin," Angra Mainyu, or Hostile Spirit.

During the 7th and 6th centuries BC the ancient polytheistic religion of the Iranians was reformed and given new dimensions by the prophet Zoroaster (or Zarathusthra). Zoroaster's life dates have been traditionally given as (c. 628 - 551 BC)

Zoroaster taught a higher moral plane, where men attained virtue by good thoughts and conduct rather than by sacrifice. All of a man's good works are actually entered into the book of life as credits, and bad works as debits. If the total score is positive, the soul goes to heaven; if negative, hell. If the balance is close, the soul stays in an intermediate state until the final judgment. Sins could never be washed away, but just balanced out.

Zoroastrianism is a religion that developed in Iran from about the sixth century BC, generally ascribed to Zoroaster (Zarathustra), who was born in Iran '258 years before Alexander.' The date of Zoroaster's birth has been given variously as 6000 BC, 1400 BC, and 1000 BC, but Herzfeld accepts the traditional date, approximately, as now confirmed (Herzfeld, (570 - 500 BC); Jackson, 660 - 583 BC). Accordingly, Zoroaster was contemporary with other great religious personages, including Buddha, Confucius, Lao Tze, and several Hebrew prophets. That Zoroaster used Vedic materials found in early Hinduism can hardly be denied; that he was a polytheist like Darius, Xerxes, and others who were probably Zoroastrians (at least, their inscriptions pay homage to Ahura Mazda) seems most likely.

But Zoroaster was protesting against the false and cruel in religion, and followed the principle, "If the gods do aught shameful, they are not gods." Accordingly, he exalted Ahura Mazda ("wise Lord," often improperly translated "Lord of light") as supreme among the gods or spirits, and viewed the world as an agelong struggle between Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainy (or Ahramanyus, Ahriman, "Spirit of evil"), both of whom came into existence independently in the distant past. Zoroastrianism is therefore called a dualism, but it is a limited dualism.

Vivasvan, Yama, Trita

Let us review Avestan as a language representing the so-called Indo-Iranian or, more aptly the period when the kavis or r.s.is of the Avestan and R.gvedic tradition were together in Bharat; the younger Avestan texts and the Bra_hman.as may denote the periods when the Avestan and R.gvedic traditions evolved in parallel in eastern Iran and in Bharat respectively.

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Homa Yas.t classifies the first Haoma pressers: Vi_vahvat, A_twya and Trita.

Vivasvan, the first, ancient sacrificer or presser of Soma (a_tma_ yajn~asya pu_rvyah: RV 9.2.10)

Vivahvant (or Av. Vi_Vahvat.) was the first to press Soma, followed by Yama who was his son. A_thwya pressed Soma as the third one. A_thwya's son was Thrae_taona. Urva_khs.aya and Keresa_spa were the sons of Thrita, the third Soma presser. Thrae_taona killed the three-headed Azi Daha_ka. Thrae_taona is called vi_so_ puthro_ a_thwya_no_is. vi_so_ su_raya in Yas.t V.33; IX.13; XV.23) and hence is interpreted as a clan name.Trita of the Vedic mythology killed vis'varu_pa tris'i_rs.an. (Hillebrandt, vol. 2, p. 195).

Yama is the son of Vivasvat. In Avesta, Yima is xs.ae_ta or hvthawa, 'rich in herds'; Yima is the king of a kingdom in paradise, after he is robbed of his majesty because of a falsehood. 'The splendour deserts Yima thrice and is seized by Mithra, Thrae_taona, A_thwya and Keresa_spa'. (Hillebrandt, vol.2, p. 228). When Zarathus.tra asks Haoma as to who among the men pressed him at first, the latter replies: vi_vanha_ mam paoiryo_ masyo_ hunu_ta, and that as reward Yima was born as his son...R.V 7.33.-10: yamena tatam paridhim vayanto 'psarasa upa sedur vasis.t.ha_h yamena tatam pariddhim vayis.ya_nn apsarasah pari jajn~e vasis.t.hah -- according to which the Vasis.t.has weave the 'frame' or warp which has been stretched out by Yama, i.e., Yama has invented the sacrifice and the Vasis.t.has now continue his work.' (Hillebrandt, vol.2, pp. 224, 227).

AV 18.3.13: yo mam_ra prathamo martya_na_m
yah preya_ya prathamo lokam etam
vaivasvata_m sam.gamanam jana_na_m
yamam ra_ja_am havis.a_ saparya

"Him who died first among the mortals, who went forth to this place, Vivasvat's son and assembler of people, king Yama, worship with Havis." (Hillebrandt, vol.2, p. 223).

Ludwig (III,333; , 392) explains Vivasvat of the AV as 'the bright sky beyond which Yama's realm is situated' (I, p.89: 'In fact the word vivasvat has become in later literature a name for the sun. I would even admit, if it comes to that, that he was called by this name from the earliest times. I would admit that the expression in RV 10.39.12: 'the two days (day and night) of Vivasvat', very naturally suggests that the sun is meant and in any case Vivasvat figures as a divine being in RV 10.65.6 along with Varun.a and the gods. It will still remain equally true that the conception of Agni, of whom the sun is only one of the forms, can alone account for the character of an ancient sacrificer, which is the dominant trait of Vivasvat in the R.V".)

The gods enjoy in the house of Vivasvat, who has Soma (RV 10.12.7); he Soma jar is obtained from Vivasvat by Indar (RV 8.72.8); Indra deposits his treasue with Vivasvat (RV 2.13.6):

यस्मि॑न् दे॒वा वि॒दथे॑ मा॒दय॑न्ते वि॒वस्व॑तः॒ सद॑ने धा॒रय॑न्ते ।
सूर्ये॒ ज्योति॒र् अद॑धुर् मा॒स्य् अून् परि॑ द्योत॒निं चर॑तो॒ अज॑स्रा ॥

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10.012.07 In him the gods find pleasure at the sacrifice; they seat themselves on the altar of the sacrificer (vivasvatah sadane). They placed light in the sun; beams in the moon; and these untiring shed their light around.

आ तेन॑ या॒तम् मन॑सो॒ जवी॑यसा॒ र॒ँ यं वा॑म् ऋ॒भव॑श् च॒क्रुर् अ॑श्विना ।

यस्य॒ योगे॑ दु॒हि॒ता जाय॑ते दि॒व उ॒भे अह॑नी सु॒दिने॑ वि॒वस्व॑तः ॥

10.039.12 Come, As'vins, with the chariot that is swifter than thought, which the Ribhus made for you; in connection with which the daughter of heaven, (the dawn), is born and both the auspicious day and night from Vivasvat. [Is the reading 'sudine' or 'sadane' (at the fire-altar)? In RV 1.53.1, 3.34.7 and 51.3, the phrase is: vivasvatah sa_dane, the place where the singers (kavayah, ka_ruh, vipra_h) stood. In Sa_yan.a's commentary on RV 1.53.1 the rendering: paricarato yajama_nasya sadane yajn~agr.he; on 3.34.7: vis'es.en.agnihotra_dikarma_rthe vasato yajama_nasya sadane gr.he; on 3.51.3: manus.yasys yajama_nasya svabhu_te sadane vedya_khye stha_ne; similar notes on RV 10.75.1, 10.12.7. "Thus the Indian commentator explains in all passages Vivasvat as the sacrificer...we may state as a positive inference that here vivasvat is a name -- of course an honorific name -- for the sacrificer and that vivasvatah sa_dane has the same purport as da_s'us.o gr.he."(Hillebrandt, vol. 2, pp. 215-6). The word, 'sa_danam' is used in RV 10.135.7 referring to the dwelling of Yama:]

इ॒दं य॒मस्य॒ साद॑नं देवमा॒नं यद् उ॒च्यते॑ ।

इ॒यम् अ॑स्य धम्यते ना॒ळीर् अ॒यं गी॒र्भिः परि॑ष्कृतः ॥

10.135.07 This is the dwelling of Yama, which is called the fabric of the gods; this pipe is sounded for his (gratification), he is propitiated by hymns. [The hymn may be to A_ditya and to Yama: Taittiri_ya Bra_hman.a 3.11.8; there is a dialogue between Naciketas and Yama in Kat.ha Upanis.ad on what becomes of the soul after death; the father of Naciketas is named: Audda_laki and A_run.i].

या गौर् व॑र्त॒निम् प॒र्येति॑ निष्कृ॒तम् पयो॒ दुहा॑ना व्रत॒नीर् अ॑वा॒रतः॑ ।

सा प्र॑ब्रुवा॒णा वरु॑णाय दा॒शुषे॑ दे॒वेभ्यो॑ दाशद् ध॒विषा॑ वि॒वस्व॑ते ॥

10.065.06 May that cow, the leader of the rite, which yielding her milk proceeds uncalled to the consecrated place (of sacrifice), may she, propitiated by me, yield her milk to (me), the offerer of oblations to liberal Varun.a and the (other) gods. [Milk: of strength, gauh = thunder, ma_dhyamika_ va_k; cf. RV 8.100.11; offer of oblations: vivasvati = madhyam deva_n paricarate; da_s'us.e = an epithet of Varun.a].

Va_lakhilya IV.1 refers to Manu Vivasvat and Trita as sacrificers and that their Soma pleased Indra.

यथा॒ मनौ॒ विव॑स्वति॒ सोमं॑ श॒क्रापि॑बः सु॒तम् ।

यथा॑ त्रि॒ते छन्द॑ इन्द्र॒ जुजो॑षस्य् आ॒यौ मा॑दयसे॒ सचा॑

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पृषध्रे मेध्ये मातरिश्वनीन्द्र सुवाने अमन्दथाः ।
यथा सोमं दशशिप्रे दशोण्ये स्यूमरश्माव् ऋजूनसि ॥

8.052.01 As you, S'akra, did drink the effused Soma from Manu Vivasvat, as you did accept the hymn from Trita, so do you gladden yourself with A_yu. 8.052.02 You did enjoy, Indra, the effused drink with Pr.s.adhra, Medhya and Ma_taris'van, just as you did drink the Soma with Das'as'ipra, Das'on.ya, Syumaras'mi, and R.junas.

त्वष्टा दुहित्रे वहतुं कृणोतीतीदं विश्वम् भुवनं सम् एति ।
यमस्य माता पर्युह्यमाना महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश ॥
अपागूहन्न् अमृताम् मर्त्येभ्यः कृत्वी सवर्णाम् अददुर् विवस्वते ।
उताश्विनाव् अभरद् यत् तद् आसीद् अजहाद् उ द्वा मिथुना सरण्यूः ॥

10.017.01 Tvas.t.a_ celebrates the marriage of his daughter; therefore, the whole world is assembled; but the mother of Yama, the newly-married wife of the mighty Vivasvat, disappeared. [Deity Saran.yu_: The legend: Saran.yu_, the daughter of Tvas.t.a_, was given in marriage to Vivasvat, and had by him Yama and Yami_. Intimidated by his ardour, she substituted another female, her shadow, Cha_ya_, for herself, and going to Uttarakuru, changed herself to a mare. Vivasvat begot Manu by Cha_ya_, when, finding his error, he set off to look for his wife. Discovering her disguise, he transformed himself to a horse, and had by his wife the two As'vins]. 10.017.02 The gods concealing the immortal (Sarn.yu_) for th esake of mortals and having formed her, gave her to Vivasvat. She bore the two As'vins when this had happened and then Saran.yu_ gave birth to two twins. [For the sake of mortals: maryebhyah = manus.yebhyas tadutpattyartham, for men, i.e. that men might be born. Manu was the offspring of Vivasvat and the woman resembling Saran.yu_ and all men are descended from Manu; the two twins: Yama and Yami_, but dva_ mithuna_, may mean two pairs of twins, Yama and Yami_, the first pair and the As'vins the second].

"There can be no doubt that Us.a_sa_nakta_ are ment by the two wives (of Vivasvat) and that their suitor rpresents the sun god. Thus the sun god is certainly called Vivasvat already in the R.V...Sarama_, the mother of the two Sa_rameyas, would be a mythological synonym for Us.as, the mother of the sun and the moon. It is most likely that Saran.yu_, Vivasvat's wife, who abandons 'the twins' and has the same colour as Us.as is not different from Us.as. Then Sarama_ and Saran.yu_ would be linguistic synonyms (provided the latter is not a mere adjecive, which is not at all improbable), and the As'ins and the Sa_rameyas, who faded out in Vedic mythology, would be mythological synonyms." (Hillebrandt, A., Vedic Mythology, vol.1, p.32-33).

अपाम् उपस्थे महिषा अगृभ्णत विशो राजानम् उप तस्थुर् ऋग्मियम् ।
आ दूतो अग्निम् अभरद् विवस्वतो वैश्वानरम् मातरिश्वा परावतः ॥

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6.008.04 The mighty maruts have seized upon him on the lap of the waters (in firmament), and men have acknowledged him as their adorable sovereign; ma_taris'van, the messenger of the gods, has brought Agni vais'va_nara (hither) from the distant (sphere of the) sun. [Alt. Hillebrandt: The mighty (gods) seized him in the womb of the waters. The clans worshipped the king, who is worthy of praise. Ma_taris'van brought Agni Vais'va_nara as a messenger of Vivasvat from afar. The gods seize the sun in the womb of the waters.]

तम् अ॑ह्यन् भु॒रिजो॑र् धि॒या सं॒वसा॑नं वि॒वस्व॑तः ।

पतिं॑ वा॒चो अदा॑भ्यम् ॥

9.026.04 The worshippers have elevated by the fingers of their arms that unconquerable lord of praise abiding (in the vessels). [Alt. Hillebrandt: WIth the dexterity of the arms they sent the fellow-resident of Vivasvat].

मा नो॑ हे॒तिर् वि॒वस्व॑त॒ आदि॑त्याः कृ॒त्रिमा॒ शरुः॑ ।

पु॒रा नु ज॒रसो॑ वधीत् ॥

8.067.20 Let not this weapon of Vivasvat, this net made with hands, A_dityas, destroy us before old age. [Vivasvat: i.e. Yama, son of Vivasvat; before old age: pura_ = pu_rve nu ida_ni_m sarvadetyarthah jarasah ida_ni_m ji_rn.a_n: let it not destroy us, now and of old infirm]. [Alt. Hillebrandt: Vivasvat = sun].

Trita

Vedic Trita and Avestan Tritha are Soma pressers. Bhr.gus arise from the flames of Praja_pati's seed; An:giras arise from the coals and Trita has his origin in the waters. In such an interpretation, Trita may be seen as the name of an ancestor (like Kutsa or Kan.va).

स त्रि॒तस्याधि॒ सान॑वि॒ पव॑मानो अरोचयत् ।

जा॒मिभि॒ः सूर्यं॑ स॒ह ॥

9.037.04 The pure Soma upon the high place (of the sacrifice) of Trita, attended by its kindred rays, has lighted up the Sun.

Macdonell explains Trita as god of lightning. (Macdonell, Mythological studies in the R.gveda, JRAS, 1893, XXV, pp. 419-96). Trita is attributed with the name a_ptya (Note the concordance with Yas.t A_twya; cf. Bartholomae, IF, I, p. 180; Johansson, Bidrag till Rigtvedas Tolkning, p.7).

There is a legend narrated in the R.gveda about Trita a_ptya; Trita is at the bottom of the well and connected with water. The motif of the well occurs not only about Trita (or Kutsa) but also about Bhujyu (RV 1.116.4; 117.14; 118.6; 182.6; 7.68.7), Atri (RV 1.116.8; 117.3) , Rebha and Vandana (RV 1.112.5; 116.24; 117.4; 119.6; 10.39.8-9). Water oblations are poured for three A_ptyas: Trita, Dvita and Ekata, to the north of the Viha_ra. (S'Br. 13.4.2.16; cf. Hillebrandt, vol. 2, n. 627). "In the

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R.V as well as in later times, the plural form of a_ptya_h is the name of an entire class of beings -- gods or men -- who stand in AitBr. VIII.12.4 next to the Sa_dhyas and between the Vasus, Rudras, A_dityas on the one side and the Maruts and An:giras on the other...These apart, the legend of the buried disc, bowl or treasure may be mentioned." (Hillebrandt, vol.2, p. 194, n. 626).

The r.cas 8.047.13 to 18 explain how Trita A_ptya takes the sin and evil effects upon himself. Avesta notes a thrita, while the R.V mentions trita and dvita. ["...Iranian Thrita, who is regarded as a healer and who received a thousand healing plants from Ahuramazda...Trita...its connection with the Old IRisih triath, 'ocean' (Fick, VWB< 4th edn., I, p. 63; Johansson, IF, IV, p. 143) appears as uncertain as the derivation from tri, 'three'." Hillebrandt, vol.2, p. 195, n. 631).

यद् आ॒विर् यद् अ॑पी॒च्यं॑ देवा॑सो॒ अस्ति॑ दुष्कृ॒तम् । त्रि॒ते तद् विश्व॑म् आ॒प्त्य आ॒रे अ॒स्मद् द॑धातनाने॒हसो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः
सू॒तयो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः ॥

यच् च॒ गोषु॑ दु॒ष्ष्वप्न्यं॒ यच् चा॒स्मे दु॑हितर् दिवः ।
त्रि॒ताय॒ तद् वि॑भावर्य् आ॒प्त्याय॒ परा॑ वहाने॒हसो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः सू॒तयो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः ॥

नि॒ष्कं वा॑ घा कृ॒णव॑ते॒ स्रजं॑ वा दुहितर् दिवः ।
त्रि॒ते दु॒ष्ष्वप्न्यं॒ सर्व॑म् आ॒प्त्ये परि॑ दद्मस्य् अने॒हसो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः सू॒तयो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः ॥

तद॑न्नाय॒ तद॑पसे॒ तम् भा॒गम् उ॑पसे॒दुषे॑ ।
त्रि॒ताय॑ च द्वि॒ताय॒ चोषो॑ दु॒ष्ष्वप्न्यं॑ वहाने॒हसो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः सू॒तयो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः ॥

यथा॑ क॒लां यथा॑ श॒फं यथ॑ ऋ॒णं सं॒नया॑मसि ।
ए॒वा दु॒ष्ष्वप्न्यं॒ सर्व॑म् आ॒प्त्ये सं न॑यामस्य् अने॒हसो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः सू॒तयो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः॥

अजै॑ष्मा॒द्यास॑नाम॒ चाभू॒माना॑गसो व॒यम् ।
उषो॒ यस्मा॑द् दु॒ष्ष्वप्न्या॒द् अभै॒ष्माप॒ तद् उ॑च्छत्व् अने॒हसो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः सू॒तयो॑ व ऊ॒तय॑ः ॥

8.047.13 Deities, whatever evil is manifest, whatever is concealed, (let it be not found) in Trita A_ptya, keep it far from us; your aids are void of harm, your aids are true aids. [Trita A_ptya is the r.s.i of the hymn. Trita A_ptya was a deity dwelling in remote distance, and consequently evil was sought to be transferred to him; keep it far from us in Trita A_ptya].

8.047.14 Daughter of heaven, (Us.as), whatever ill-omened dream threatens our cattle, keep it, O brilliant one, far from Trita A_ptya; y our aids are void of harm, your aids, are true aids. [Far from Trita A_ptya: trita-ya a_ptya_ya: keep it far away for Trita A_ptya; R.cas 14 and 15 are used in A_s'vala_yana's Gr.hy Su_tras to be recited after an unpleasant dream].

8.047.15 Daughter of heaven, whatever ill-omened dream threatens Trita A_ptya, we transfer it to the worker of gold ornaments or to the maker of garlands; your aids are void of harm, your aids are true aids. [Whatever evil dream threatens the worker of gold ornaments or the maker of garlands, that evil, abiding in Trita A_ptya (or the son of the waters), we Tr.tas throw off from ourselves; i.e. we throw it off on Trita A_ptya].

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8.047.16 Us.as, bear (elsewhere) the ill-omened dream for Trita and Dvita, who eat and do (in dreams) that (which is eaten and done amiss when awake) and who obtain that (inauspicious) portion; your aids are void of harm, your aids are true aids. [Bear elsewhere: i.e., let the eating of honey etc., perceived in a dream, produce happiness as in a waking state; trita and dvita: for dvita, cf. S'atapatha Bra_hman.a 1.2.3.1].

8.047.17 As (in the sacrifice) we put severally together the proper parts and the hoofs, and as we discharge a debt, so we transfer all the ill-omened dream that rests on A_ptya; your aids are void of harm, your aids are true aids. [As in the sacrifice they place together the kala_, the heart etc., as fit to be cut to pieces, and the s'apha, the hoof, bones etc. as unfit; another explanation is: kala_ = s'apha or hoof. The words kala_ and s'apha occur together in Taittiri_ya Sam.hita_ 6.1.10, where the process of buying the Soma is desscribed; s'apha = the eighth part of a cow; kala_ = a very small portion of a cow; that rests on A_ptya: or, we transfer all the ill-omened dream to A_ptya].

8.047.18 May we be today victorious, and obtain (happiness); may we be free from evil; Us.as, may that ill dream depart, of which we were afraid; your aids are void of harm, your aids are true aids.

The R.gveda su_kta 1.105 is by r.s.i: trita a_ptya or kutsa a_n:girasa; devata_: vis'vedeva_; chanda: tris.t.up

च॒न्द्रमा॑ अ॒प्स्व् अन्तर् आ सु॑प॒र्णो धा॑वते दि॒वि ।
न वो॑ हिरण्यनेमयः प॒दं वि॑न्दन्ति विद्युतो वि॒त्तम् मे॑ अ॒स्य रो॑दसी ॥

1.105.01 The graceful-movingmoonspeeds along the middle region in the sky; bright golden rays (my eyes) behold not your abidding-place. Heaven and earth, be conscious of this (my affliction). [candrama_h suparn.ah: suparn.aih = s'obhana-patana, the elegantly-going; or, possibly connected with the ray of the sun called supran.a, which gives the moon its light; your abiding place: a reference to the supposed position of Trita at the bottom of the well, which, being covered over, shuts out from him all visible objects; be conscious of this: the text has, 'heaven and earth, know of this of me' (vittam me asya rodasi), i.e. 'be aware of this my affliction', or, 'attend to this my hymn'].

अ॒मी ये स॒प्त र॒श्मय॒स् तत्रा॑ मे॒ नाभि॒र् आत॑ता ।
त्रि॒तस् तद् वे॑दा॒प्त्यः स जा॑मि॒त्वाय॑ रेभति वि॒त्तम् मे॑ अ॒स्य रो॑दसी ॥

1.105.09 Those which are the seven rays (of the sun), in them is my navel expanded; Trita, the son of the waters, knows that (it is so), and he praises them for his extrication (from the well). Heaven and earth, be conscious of this (my affliction). [na_bhi = navel; tes.u su_ryaras'mis.u adhya_tmam saptapra_n.aru_pen.a varma_nes.u, identifying the solar rays with the seven vital airs abiding in the ruling spirit; this is perhaps an allusion to the navel as the seat of the soul. Son of the waters: a_ptya = a_pya = apa_m putra, son of the waters].

त्रि॒तः कूपे ऽव॑हितो दे॒वान् ह॑वत ऊ॒तये॑ ।
तच् छु॑श्राव॒ बृह॒स्पतिः॑ कृ॒ण्वन्न् अं॑हूर॒णाद् उ॒रु वि॒त्तम् मे॑ अ॒स्य रो॑दसी ॥

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अ॒रु॒णो मा॑ स॒कृद् वृकः॑ प॒था यन्तं॑ द॒दर्श॒ हि ।
उज् जि॑हीते नि॒चाय्या॑ तष्टे॑व पृष्ट्याम॒यी वि॒त्तम् मे॑ अ॒स्य रो॑दसी ॥

1.105.17 Trita, fallen into the well, invokes the Gods for succour; Br.haspati, who liberates many from sin, heard (the submission). Heaven and earth, be conscious of this (my affliction).

1.105.18 Once, a tawny wolf beheld me faring on my way, and having seen me, rushed upon me, (rearing) as a carpenter, whose back aches (with stooping, standing erect in his work). [The wolf, like the carpenter, was u_rdhva_bhimukha (standing in presence erect). If vr.ka = moon and ma_ sakr.t (me once) is rendered ma_sakr.t (month-maker), the rendering is: the moon, having contemplated the constellations goind along the path of the sky, became united with one of them; paying, therefore, no attention to Trita in the well].

यद् अक्र॑न्दः प्रथ॒मं जाय॑मान उ॒द्यन् स॑मु॒द्राद् उ॒त वा॒ पुरी॑षात् ।
श्ये॒नस्य॑ प॒क्षा ह॑रि॒णस्य॑ बा॒हू उ॑प॒स्तुत्य॒म् महि॑ जा॒तं ते॑ अर्वन् ॥
य॒मेन॑ द॒त्तं त्रि॒त ए॑नम् आयुन॒ग् इन्द्र॑ एणम् प्रथ॒मो अध्य् अ॑तिष्ठत् ।
ग॒न्ध॒र्वो अ॑स्य रश॒नाम् अ॑गृभ्णा॒त् सूरा॒द् अश्वं॑ वसवो॒ निर् अ॑तष्ट ॥

1.163.02 Trita harnessed the horse which was given by yama; Indra first mounted him, and gandharva seized his reins. Vasus, you fabricated the horse from the sun. [Trita = Va_yu, as pervading the three regions; Yama = Agni; gandharva = Soma; Vasus = demi-god or personified solar rays; su_ra = a_dityaman.d.ala, the solar sphere].

1.163.03 Your horse is Yama and you are A_ditya; you are Trita by a mysterious act; you are associated with Soma. The sages have said there are three bindings of you in heaven. [By a mysterious act: guhyena vratena gopani_yena, durdina ru_pen.a va_ karman.a_ sarvatra vya_ptiru_pen.a, by a secret nature of a cloudy day,or an act of a universally penetrating character; the three bindings: bandhana_ni tri_n.i = utpattika_ran.a_ni, media of origin, that is the Vasus, A_ditya and heaven].

पि॒तुं नु स्तो॑षम् म॒हो ध॒र्माणं॒ तवि॑षीम् ।
यस्य॑ त्रि॒तो व्य् ओज॑सा वृ॒त्रं विप॑र्वम् अ॒र्दय॑त् ॥

1.187.01 I glorify Pitu, the great, the upholder, the strong, by whose invigorating power Trita slew themutilated Vr.tra. [Anna-devata_ = anna, the divinity presidingover food, or merely food; pitu = pa_lakam, that which nourishes; Trita = Indra; he whose fame is spread through the three worlds; or, tr.stha_na-indraha, the three-stationed Indra: Yajurveda 34.7].

अ॒भि स्ववृ॑ष्टि॒म् मदे॑ अस्य॒ युध्य॑तो र॒घ्वीर् इ॑व प्रव॒णे स॑स्रुर् ऊ॒तयः॑ ।
इन्द्रो॒ यद् व॒ज्री धृ॒षमा॑णो॒ अन्ध॑सा भि॒नद् व॒लस्य॑ परि॒धीँर् इ॑व त्रि॒तः ॥

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1.052.05 His allies, exhilarated (by libations), preceded him, warring against the withholder of the rain, as rivers rush down declivities. Indra, animated by the sacrificial food, broke through the defences of Vala as did Trita through the coverings (of the well). [paridhi_r iva tritah: tritah, triple or threefold;hence, 'as through triple coverings or defences'. A legend is: Ekata, Dvita and Trita were three men produced in water by Agni, for the purpose of removing or rubbing off the relics of an oblation of clarified butter (like three blades of sacred grass used to rub off. Another legend: Agni threw the cinders of burnt-offerings into water, whence arose Ekata, Dvita and Trita (called A_ptyas or sons of water). Trita went to draw water from a well and fell into it; Asuras heaped coverings over the mouth of the well to prevent his escape, but he broke through them. Indra's breaking through the defences of Vala, the asura is compared to this exploit of Trita].

Mithraism

Mithraism (Mihr, friend; also sun; Mithras was the Persian word for 'contract'. Mithras was also known as Mithra, Mitra, Meitros, Mihr, Mehr, and Meher.) emerged in ancient Persia ca. 1500 BC.

Avestan texts (the Zoroastrians' holy book) divide the Iranian year into two equal parts or seasons. The first season was summer or 'Hama' and the second was winter or 'Zayana'. The coming of the two seasons would be celebrated through No Ruz and Mihregan. The later is the festival dedicated to Mihr Izad. It is celebrated on the 16th of the seventh month (Mihr) at the time of the harvest festivals and beginning of the winter. It has been the second most elaborate celebration after No Ruz. The festival is called 'Mithrakana' in Avesta and means 'belonging to Mithra'.

Mihr has been Mithra in Avesta and Mitrah in Phahlavi. It is the yazata of the covenant and of loyalty. It has come from the word mei, meaning exchange. In Avesta he is the protector of 'Payman e Dousti' (contract of friendship). In modern Persian it means love and kindness. He is the lord of ordeal by fire (walking through fire to prove innocence, story of Siavash in Shahnameh) and presides over judgment of the soul at death. Ancient Greeks identified him with Apollo. Mihregan (Mehregan) By: Massoume Price http://www.iranonline.com/festivals/mehregan-english-2/index.html

"The basic doctrine of Mithraism, as far as can be told, is that Mithras was a god who was born from a rock and destined to secure the salvation of the world; to do this he was commanded by the god Apollo (through the intermediary agent of a raven) to slay the Bull from the region of the Moon, which was said to represent the fullness of life. Mithras was reluctant to do this but acquiesced in deference to the divine will; in the ensuing struggle between god and bull, other animals joined in - the dog, and scorpion and the snake. After Mithras was successful a quarrel broke out between Mithras and Apollo, but they were reconciled and celebrated a banquet." Peter Clark, *Zoroastrianism, An Introduction to an Ancient Faith*, pp. 157-158

In the Avesta , the sacred Zoroastrian writings of the ancient Persians, Mithra appears as the chief yazata (Avestan, "beneficent one"), or good spirit, a nd ruler of the world. He was supposed to have slain the divine bull, from whose dying body sprang all plants and animals beneficial to humanity. After the conquest of Assyria in the 7th century BC and of Babylonia in the 6th century BC, Mithra became the god of the sun, which was worshipped in his name.

http://www.fwkc.com/encyclopedia/low/articles/m/m016002159f.html

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Dog is essential in Zoroastrianism in confirming the passage of life after death. "The soul is said to hover around the body for three days, and so three days and nights of prayers are performed in the presence of the corpse. A dog is brought out to 'gaze' upon the body. This rite, known as sagdid, in a sense confirms that the body is dead. A dog was thought in earlier times to have the power of discerning between life and death; a dog is also said to be a favored Ahuric creature, capable of slaying three thousand demons in a night. "After the three-day period, the pall-bearers will take the corpse to the... dakhma or 'tower of silence'. " Peter Clark, *Zoroastrianism, An Introduction to an Ancient Faith*, p. 116

Mithras as the constellation Persius killing Taurus the bull; Mithras is accompanied by a dog, a snake, a raven, and a scorpion, is shown in the act of killing a bull

http://home.fireplug.net/~rshand/streams/gnosis/mithra.html "Dating from around the 15th century BC, Mithraism emerged in ancient Persia. 'Mihr' (the Persian form of Mithras) was the word not only for the Sun but also for a friend; and that seems to be how this pagan god was originally worshipped - as both supreme sun god and god of love." [Quest for the Past]See the Cosmic mysteries of Mithras by David Ulansey "During...the 'Age of Taurus,' lasting from around 4,000 to 2,000 B.C., the celestial equator passed through Taurus the Bull (the spring equinox of that epoch), Canis Minor the Dog, Hydra the Snake, Corvus the Raven, and Scorpio the Scorpion (the autumn equinox): that is, precisely the constellations represented in the Mithraic tauroctony (bull-slaying)."

http://www.well.com/user/davidu/mithras.html

The grammatical style and vocabulary of the Gathas and the hymns of the Rig Veda are similar. In the Indian Vedic tradition, particularly during the period of the Bra_hman.as, rites related to the processing of Soma were dominant; in the Avestan tradition, belief was the dominant theme and Haoma was only a ritual accompanying the adoration of Ahura Mazda, the Lord Wisdom..

"The Gathas were passed on from generation to generation, for a long time orally but later in written form, by the priests who recited them as part of their ritual worship and eventually committed them to writing. It is believed that even when their meaning was forgotten or simply ceased to be understood, the mere sounds of the words, being sacred in themselves, were faithfully remembered and taught from priest to priest."

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"Zarathushtra's Gathas belong to a specific category of ancient poetry, represented in both Iranian and Indian traditions and characterized by defined metrical constraints (which the often untraditional Zarathushtra is not afraid to ignore when the occasion demands it), by an esoteric content and highly allegorical use of language. The technique required for composing this kind of poetry was learnt over many years of study and it presupposes an educated and privileged studentship drawn from the priestly class." Peter Clark, *Zoroastrianism, An Introduction to an Ancient Faith*, p. 2

"Of great importance is the [Vedic] concept of rta, the law regulating the cosmos, which was under the protection of Varuna and Mitra in the Vedic system. The Zoroastrian notion of Asha, often rendered as 'righteousness', also conveys the meanings 'truth' and 'order'. Asha, a concept with which rta may be equated, is an empowering force which emanates directly from Ahura Mazda and which differs in this respect from the Vedic rta, which was essentially distinct from the gods themselves. There is, in Vedic religion, a merely philosophical distinction between order and chaos (nirriti), whereas for Zarathushtra there is an ethical distinction to be made between Asha and drug (deceit). And although Varuna and Mitra seem to have been accessible only through ritual, Zarathushtra establishes a link between humanity and Ahura Mazda that is not solely dependent upon the mediations of the priesthood. In the Hindu world rta was gradually supplanted by dharma, but in the religion of Zarathushtra the significance of Asha has never diminished." Peter Clark, *Zoroastrianism, An Introduction to an Ancient Faith*, p. 5-6

"Adapting the old Vedic Brahman tradition of men wearing a sacred thread over one shoulder which was knotted for them by a priest during their initiation and is never untied, Zoroaster decreed that the sign of membership in his religious community, but for both men and women, would be a thin cord worn as a girdle, passed three times round the waist and knotted at back and front. After initiation - which took place at the age of fifteen - and every day for the rest of their lives, believers must untie and retie the girdle repeatedly when praying, its three coils likely intended to signify the thoughts, words and deeds by whose sum they would be judged after death." - Paul William Roberts, Journey of the Magi (1995) p. 153

Zarathushtra the fire priest [After Sarosh Manekshaw]

We may now examine the next issue: Was Zarathushtra himself a priest?

The information that we do possess shows, with a high degree of certainty, that he was. However, there is a contra position, and we will examine that as well.

First: In his own words, Zarathushtra calls himself a 'zaotar' (Yasna 33.6).

Let us examine the term 'zaotar'. This term has been variously interpreted by the translators of the Gathas as either '(sacrificial) priest' or 'invoker'.

Gershevitch (1959: p. 272) states: "The word for 'priest', 'zaotar-', Batholomae stated in Wb.1653, goes back to Indo-Iranian times (cf. Ved. 'hotr'), when two meanings coalesced in *zhautar-: (1) 'he who performs libation' (Ved. 'juhoti' to pour), and (2) 'he who calls the gods' (Ved. 'havate' to call)."

A further explanation of the term 'zaota' can be obtained from Geldner (1925: p. 278):

"While Justi and Darmesteter derive the word 'Zaota' from the root 'Zu' (to call), Modi (1922: p. 78) supports the derivation from 'zu' = Skt. 'hu, juhoti'; and herein he is, of course, right. But Modi says

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on p. 202, that 'Zaota' literally means "the performer of ceremonies or the offerer of offerings," only the second meaning is etymologically correct. 'Zaota' is FROM THE VERY BEGINNING THE SACRIFICING PRIEST, in whose activity comes everything, that had developed in course of time around the proper sacrificial offering." (Emphasis added.)

Geldner goes on to add: "The custom of offering the sacrifice in the sacrificial fire may have been prevalent also in Iran before Zarathushtra."

Now in Vedic times, Geldner states (ibid. p. 277), "The 'Hota' was the chief priest, who had to care for the recitation during the sacrifice and for the hymn ...". Note that Skt. 'Hota' is equivalent to Av. 'Zaota'.

Boyce (1989a: p. 5) defines "'zaotar' (priest), (as) either 'he who makes offerings' or 'he who invokes'."

From the above we may conclude that there are two possible meanings for 'zaotar': (1) invoker, one who calls, or (2) the sacrificial priest; and that at some time during the Indo-Iranian period these two meanings coalesced (Boyce, 1989a: p. 6, n.15).

What is patently clear, however, is that regardless of whether, etymologically, the term 'zaotar' is ascribed to the function of 'invoking' or to the function of 'sacrificing', it refers to the individual who conducts one or more functions during religious ceremonies; and the common definition for such an individual is 'PRIEST'.

Again, while philologists may wish to argue the derivation and exact meaning of the term, for most lay persons, it surfices to understand the term 'zaotar' simply as 'PRIEST'.

It should also be emphasized that in all the translations of the Gathas where the term 'zaotar' has been translated as 'invoker', none of these authors has specifically stated that the term does not mean 'priest'. Rather, they too have differentiated between a priest who is an 'invoker' as opposed to a priest who 'sacrifices' (Taraporewalla, 1991, p. 323). Thus, it is presumptuous and erroneous on the part of those who deny Zarathushtra's priesthood, to use this line of argument.

Second: In order to have been able to develop the skills to compose the Gathic poetry, it would have been necessary for Zarathushtra to have been schooled in the art of such composition. These skills would have been limited not only to those who were being trained for the priesthood, but in addition, to only the brightest of those priestly students who showed a exceptional gift of knowledge. It is doubtful that a humble herdsman, uneducated and untrained in the art of poetic composition, would have been able to compose such a profound work.

On this issue Boyce (1989a: p.9) writes:

"...there is the poetry represented in Iran solely by the Gathas composed by the 'zaotar', Zoroaster, and in India by the "wisdom" poetry of the 'hotar', with characteristic eleven-syllable verses. This 'zaotar/hotar' poetry, with its predominantly instructive content, is extremely elaborate, the product evidently of a long and learned tradition; and it was intended plainly for the ears of those familiar with that tradition, who would be capable of understanding its highly artificial constructions and elucidating its meanings, despite

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a "marked inclination to enigmatical obscurity". Those priests who composed this kind of verse must have devoted years of concentrated study to mastering its techniques and modes of expression; and it seems
probable, to judge from the intellectual content of this type of literature, that the 'zaotar/hotar' schools of poetry were maintained by the thinkers among the priests."

Gnoli (1980: p. 228) adds that, "Zarathushtra was a 'zaotar', a priest who was versed in the traditional training, as can be seen from the language and structure of the Gathas". And further, (ibid. p. 189), "Moreover we must not forget that Zarathushtra was a 'zaotar-', a qualification that was not gained without going through a complex, traditional training."

Here again, we may safely conclude that the author of the Gathas must have, in his early childhood, received a strict education, and that on his showing an exceptional talent, he received even further training in the art of composing "wisdom" poetry. Such education and training would clearly have been reserved only for priestly initiates.

Thus, Zarathushtra, not only receive formal training as a priest, but his very admission in his Gathas, that he was a 'zaotar', indicates that he was a practicing priest as well.

Despite the evidence above, there has been one scholar who has taken a contrary position and stated that Zarathushtra was not a priest. The Rev. James Hope Moulton, (1913, p. 117) states: "Now we can hardly understand the Gathas on the assumption that Zarathushtra himself belonged to a separate and high priestly caste. His enthusiasm for husbandry would make us put him with the lowest of the three (priest, noble, herdsman), if we were free to choose." (Parenthetical statement added).

However, earlier (ibid. p. 116) Moulton, himself states that, "There is one passage in the Gathas where the preacher does call himself by the old Aryan name 'zaotar' (Skt. 'hotar'), "priest"."

Thus, while Moulton, on the one hand, admits that Zarathushtra was a 'priest', he later contradicts this. His explanation that Zarathushtra's "enthusiasm for husbandry" would be the basis for placing him in the third category (herdsman), is based on a weak foundation. Zarathushtra, as a practicing priest would have primarily ministered to a congregation of herdsmen, and if their main concern was the welfare of their herds then, clearly, this issue would have become most crucial to Zarathushtra as well.

Zarathushtra also used the example of cruelty to animals as a metaphor for developing his doctrine of good and evil. And, it was by explaining his doctrine in these pastoral terms that he was able to communicate his message to the vast numbers of his followers, who were primarily herdsmen. Thus, Zarathushtra's "enthusiasm for husbandry" has little to do with which "class" he belonged to, but rather, was a tool for communicating his new doctrines to his congregation of pastoral people.

More important, Moulton clearly fails to give any explanation for why Zarathushtra would describe himself as a 'zaotar', or 'priest', if he had in fact belonged to the "herdsman" class. Without such an explanation, we must conclude that Moulton's inference was mere fanciful speculation.

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Moulton (ibid.) also uses the arguement that since the term 'aathravan' (Fire-priest) is not used in the Gathas, that Zarathushtra could not have belonged to the sacerdotal class. This, too, is an extreme statement. We know that the extant Gathas are but a mere fragment of all of Zarathushtra's teachings, and the absence of a word from them does not prove a thing. To use an analogy, if all the information and literature in the United States were destroyed except for the U.S. Constitution; a millennia from now, would it be correct for people to say that no priests existed in the United States, at the time of independence, because the word "priest" does not appear in the Constitution?

We certainly know that Av. 'aathravan' is equivalent to Skt. 'atharvan'. Thus the term had a common Indo-Iranian origin, and must have existed even in pre-Gathic times. There is, thus, no reason to deny that 'aathravan-s' existed in Zarathushtra's time. And further, not much weight should be given to its absence from the texts.

It is very clear that the priests, as a functioning group of people, existed in Gathic times It is also very clear, by a preponderance of the evidence, that Zarathushtra was a priest, a 'zaotar'. Regardless of whether the etymology of the word is "sacrificial priest" or "invoker", both terms refer to functions carried out by practicing PRIESTS.

Even Moulton, before he denies it, first admits that Zarathushtra's own words indicate that he was a priest. He, however, presents no credible evidence for his denial of Zarathushtra's priesthood.

In the Younger Avesta, 8 different priestly functions are outlined: (Nirangastan: Book II, Chpt. XXVII)

1.Zaotar -- the leading priest
2.Haavanaan -- the priest who prepares the haoma
3.Aatarvakhsh -- the priest who kindles the sacred flame
4.Frabortaar -- the priest who presents things at the offering
5.Aasntaar -- the priest who washes the haoma
6.Rathwishkar -- the priest who mixes the haoma with the fresh milk
7.Aaberet -- the priest who bears the water
8.Sraoshaavarz -- the priest who has to superintend.

It is quite clear that, certainly in later Avestan times, the priesthood was divided functionally according to the various tasks each priest performed. It is also interesting to note that the terms used are functional descriptions and indicate that there was a degree of specialization amongst the priesthood. In Gathic times, while there may not have been the same number of functions, there is every reason to believe that this same functionality also existed. In fact, Gnoli (1980: p.156) differentiates between the term 'zaotar' being used to define an entire class, as opposed to one that merely defines a function.

The Gathas give us four terms: (1) zaotar, (2) ma(n)thran, (3) usig, and (4) karapan. Each of these is a term used for a priest, although of differing race and function.

Zaotar was the chief or officiating priest, and was used by Zarathushtra to describe himself (the term itself has been translated as 'invoker' or as 'sacrificial priest', but we will deal with this later

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when we discuss Zarathushtra), and exactly corresponds to the Skt. 'hotar', who was also the chief or officiating priest in Vedic times.

Ma(n)thra has been defined as "formulated meditation, the utterance which was the 'instrument of thought'" (Boyce: 1989a, p. 8). Boyce goes on to state: "The mathra accompanied rituals; and of old an INSPIRED PRIEST would compose such utterances. ... Zoroaster repeatedly uses an Iranian equivalent, 'mathran', of himself. In general, it seems, PRIESTLY utterances were regarded as inspired in the strictest sense, being revealed or revealing themselves, for such inspiration was held to come either from a deity or from a faculty within the priest himself" (ibid.) (Emphasis added.)

The Avestan term 'usig' has an exact correspondence to Skt. 'usij'. While 'usig' appears once in the Gathas (Y. 44.20), 'usij' appears approximately 30 time in the RigVeda. The 'usij-s' are the priests who aid the warriors in their bid to raid cattle (Lincoln: 1981, p. 61). And it was for this reason that they are condemned by Zarathushtra in the Gathas -- "...the karapan and the usig take hold of the cow for wrathful treatment..." (Humbach and Ichaporia: 1994: Y. 44.20). Burrows (1973: p. 131) finds 'usij' to be a proto-Indoaryan term for a certain class of priest. Burrows further argues that the proto-Indoaryan warriors (mairya-s) were the cattle rustlers who preyed on the peaceful, pastoralist Iranians and wrought so much destruction and evil; and it was the 'mairya-s' (the proto-Indoaryan warriors) along with their priests, the 'usij-s' and the 'karapan-s', who were the 'daeva' worshippers. The three principal 'daeva-s': Indra, Nanghaithya, and Saurva; were Indo-Aryan or proto-Indoaryan gods (Burrows: 1973, p. 128), and it was these 'daeva-s' (along with the proto-Indoaryan priests and warriors) who Zarathushtra condemned.

The term 'karapan' can be derived from the Skt. 'kalpa-' (rite), or from the Avestan 'karp-' (to mumble), (Burrows: 1973, p.132). In the former sense it would be associated with a proto-Indoaryan priestly function. In the latter, it was used derogatorily to describe these same priests, who in Zarathushtra's opinion, were to be condemned, since they too were 'daeva' worshippers.

Thus, it is clear that Zarathushtra's wrath was exclusively aimed at the proto-Indoaryans, the cattle-raiders, and *their priests* (the 'usig-s' and 'karapan-s'), whom he labeled the 'daeva' (false gods) worshippers. *There is not even the slightest hint in the Gathas, the younger Avestan or Pahlavi literature that Zarathushtra ever condemned the Iranian priesthood.* This distinction is extremely important.

In 1930, Dumezil proposed that the Indo-European society was divided into three classes, and further that since this tripartite division was a characteristic of the Indo-Europeans, the daughter families, and very specifically the Indo-Iranians, were also subject to the same tripartite division: (1) priests (Av. zaotar, Skt. hotar), (2) warriors (Av. rathaeshtar, Skt. kshatriya), and (3) herdsmen (Av. vaastryo.fsuyant, Skt. vaisya). (See Frye: 1993, p. 21 for an elaboration of Dumezil's theory; see also Lincoln: 1981, p. 134; Duchesne-Guillemin: 1973, p. 122). However, this theory has been fairly controversial, with ardent supporters on both sides of the issue. Geiger, (1886, p. 64), in fact had, nearly half a century earlier, stated that the Gathic society of Zarathushtra's time was divided between (1) priests and (2) herdsmen, with the herdsmen ready at all times to pick up arms and fight to defend their possessions. Boyce (1987: p. 523; 1989b) too, endorses this bipartite division of Gathic society. Regardless of whether there existed a bipartite or tripartite division, from a historical point of view, it is fairly incontrovertible that a priesthood existed among the Indo-Iranians, as well as within its daughter groups, the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans. By the time of the Younger Avestan

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period however, there is no doubt that a clear tripartite division of society had been established in Iran.

Around 3000 BC, the Indo-Iranians, a branch of the Indo-European family of peoples, started migrating southwards from the steppes of Central Asia. By 2000 BC, the Indo-Iranians themselves had separated into two branches, the Indo-Aryans who migrated South-eastwards and settled in the Northwest of India; and the Iranians who migrated South-westwards and settled on the Iranian plateau (Boyce: 1987, p. 513)

Proto-Indoaryans: These were the people of Indo-Aryan stock, who had already separated from the Iranians but, who either settled and remained behind in Iran and Central Asia, or who had followed in later migratory groups which did not make it all the way to India (see Burrows: 1973). Note that Burrows (ibid.: p. 125) also classifies the "Aryans" who migrated Westward and who were found in the Near Eastern kingdom of Mittani, as proto-Indoaryans.

In both the pairs of words, the direction of change is apparent: s > h.

> Áss (OE o:s) , pl. Aesir (OE o:s) goes back to PGmc *ans- (see Jordanes' Latinised Gothic ansis 'deities, demigods'). There are various etymological suggestions regarding this word, but it was only after the loss of the nasal in some Germanic dialects that it acquired a superficial resemblance to Indo-Iranian *asura-. [Piotr Gasiorowski in the Cybalist Yahoo group]

Sanskrit is much earlier than Avestan given the locus of the texts of the early language: on the banks of the River Sarasvati_ which got gradually desiccated and finally dried up in the stretches of the Great Indian desert, ca. 1900 BC. The banks of this river are the principal locale for the r.cas.

Hittite texts on horses and chariots, found at Bogaz Khoy (Hattussas ~ 1,300 BCE) show that the technology was Indian -- not Iranian. A hypothesis: Meluhhans and Vedics from the south-east, Elamites from the south-west meet with the steppes. Avestan emerges in east and west Iran.

When did Zarathushtra live?

"At present, the majority opinion among scholars probably inclines toward the end of the second millennium or the beginning of the first, although there are still those who hold for a date in the seventh century." (Death, War, and Sacrifice, 1991, pg 150) Humbach and Ichaporia seem to favor the Xanthos date of 1080 BC but mention the 630 date also. (Heritage, 1994, pg 11).

"A commonly given date is the seventh century B.C.E. I think Boyce has convincingly shown the seventh century date to be an error. Humbach also discounts the basis of this calculation in his Gathas 1991 (pg 30). Boyce has wavered on an actual date: between 1400 and 1000 BC (1975), between 1700 and 1500 (1979), around 1400 BC (1988), between 1500 BC & 1200 BC "with the latter more likely" (1992). http://www.avesta.org Bruce Lincoln

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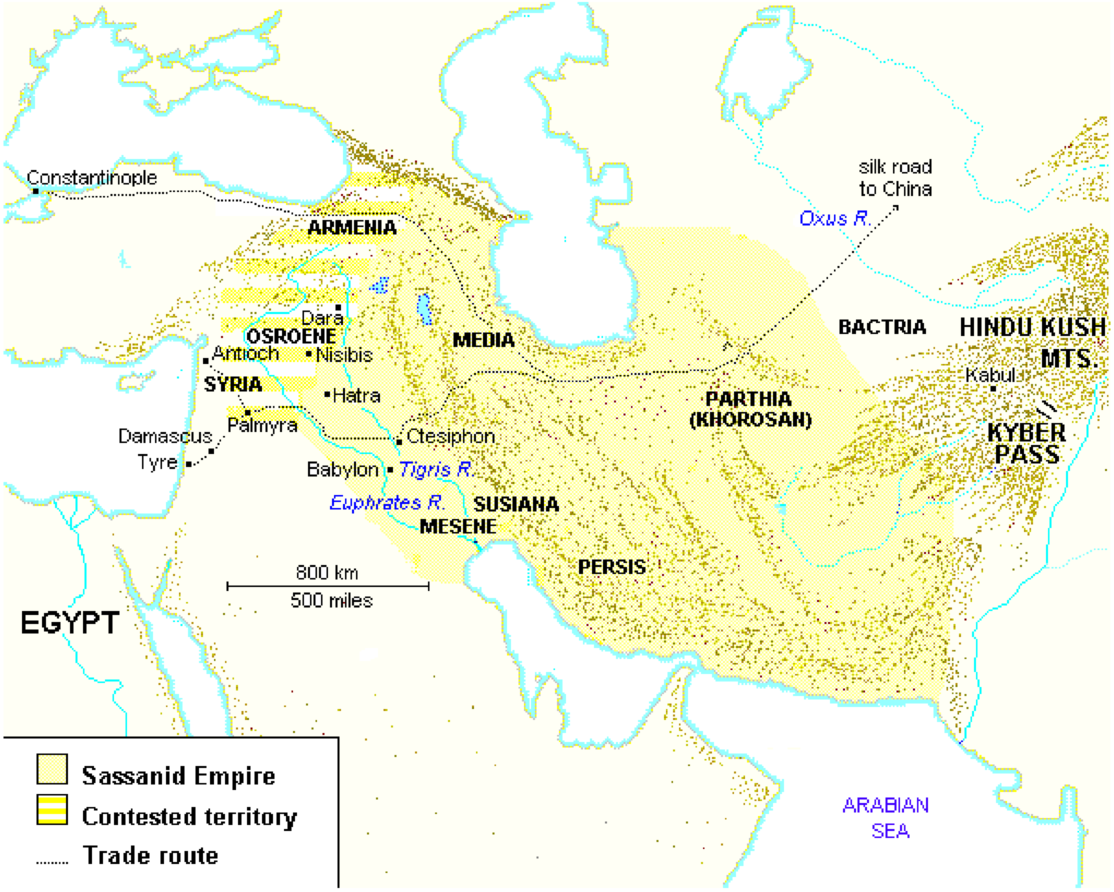

Ctesiphon, city of ancient Mesopotamia, on the eastern bank of the Tigris River, opposite Seleucia. Ctesiphon was the winter residence of the Parthian kings and later the capital of the Parthian kingdom. When the Arsacid dynasty of Parthian rulers was overthrown, about AD 226, the city became the capital of the Sassanid dynasty of Persian kings. Plundered by the Arabs in 637, the city was abandoned when the Abbasid caliphs made their capital at nearby Baghdad. The ruins of Ctesiphon, in modern Iraq, hold the remains of a great vaulted hall of the Sassanid period. http://www.funkandwagnalls.com/encyclopedia

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Son of Papak. Reign 224 - 242 AD. Ardashir I (Ardashir V, king of Persis) AE 2 Chalcous (1/6 Unit) circa 212 - 226 AD 18 mm. 2.42 gm.Mitchiner ACW 757;

Sellwood ISC 3 (type I); Gobl SN I/2 (plate I/3) Die position = 6h reverse Obverse: Bust of bearded king, facing, wearing Parthian-style headdress; Pahlavi legend. Reverse: Fire altar without attendants; Pahlavi legend. "The ancestors of Ardashir had played a leading role in the rites of the fire temple at Istakhr, known as Adur-Anahid, the Anahid Fire. With the new dynasty having these priestly antecedents, it seems only natural that there would have been important developments in the Zoroastrian religion during the Sasanian period. In fact, the evolution of Zoroastrianism as an organized religion into something resembling its modern form can be regarded as having begun in this period. Under the Parthians, local Magi had no doubt continued to perform the traditional ceremonies associated with the old Iranian deities, the fire cult, the creed preached by Zoroaster, with its emphasis on the worship of Ahura Mazda, and even the cults of cosmopolitan deities that were introduced in the Hellenistic period and later.Under the Sasanians, stress came to be placed on the fire cult and the worship of Ahura Mazda." http://www.britanica.com/bcom/eb/article/3/0,5716,109313+4+106325,00.html

"Magus. Rather it appears that they constituted a priesthood serving several religions. The magi were a priestly caste during the Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian periods; later parts of the Avesta, such as the ritualistic sections of the Videvdat (Vendidad), probably derive from them. From the 1st century AD onward the word in its Syriac form (magusai) was applied to magicians and soothsayers, chiefly from Babylonia, with a reputation for the most varied forms of wisdom. As long as the Persian empire lasted there was always a distinction between the Persian magi, who were credited with profound and extraordinary religious knowledge, and the Babylonian magi, who were often considered to be outright imposters." http://www.britanica.com/bcom/eb/article/4/0,5716,51294+1+50079,00.html

A rock relief beneath the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam,depicting the triumph of Shapur I over the Roman Emperor Valerian, and Philip the Arabian Ardashir I (flourished 3rd century AD), king of Persia (224-241), founder of the Sassanid dynasty and grandson of Sassan. In 224, Ardashir I finally defeated the king of Parthia, Artabanus V (reigned about 213-24), at the Battle of Hormuz. He built a new capital at Ctesiphon on the Tigris River, and, on the site of the ancient city of Seleucia, built the city of Weh-Ardashir. He was succeeded by his son, Shapur I. Worshiped as a god in his own day, His sculptured image, identified by an inscription in the Greek and Pahlavi languages, was found on the site of Persepolis.

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5th cent. AD. Mazdak advocated vegetarianism, pacifism, anti-clericalism, and utopian communism. When the shah Kavad converted to the new religion, Mazdak was able to start putting these theories into practice on a vast scale, opening government warehouses to the poor and closing all but three of the kingdom's Fire Temples. Kavad approved Mazdak's call for marriage between aristocratic women and peasant men. The Nobles, outraged over Kavad's siding with the revolution, captured and imprisoned him. They put his brother upon the throne, and, after three years in captivity, Kavad escaped and fled east to the Hephthalites. The Hephthalites were eager to have a ruler in Persia dependent upon them, and they provided Kavad with an army. In 499, Kavad marched to the Sassanid capital, Ctesiphon, and re-established his rule.

Kavad I (Second reign 498 - 531 AD)

AR Drachm 498 - 519 AD Mint: unknown Regnal year: unknown 28 mm.3.96 gm.Mitchiner ACW 1018v./1484v., Sellwood ISC 52v. (type II), Gobl SN II/1v. (plate XI/185v.)Diameter of obverse dotted border=20 mm.; diameter of reverse border=21 mm.Die position=4h reverse Obverse: Bearded bust right wearing headdress with turret and crescent; crescent with globe above. Two large diadem ends protrude upwards through border. Diadem ends floating upward, left and right. Crescents on shoulders and star behind bust. No star in right field. Three crescents containing stars outside single border. No legend (!). Reverse: Fire altar with two attendants holding arms raised and facing altar; their heads protrude through border. Star to left, crescent to right. Single border. Mint name blundered to right (_MH=?); year blundered (?) to left (written retrograde (?)).

http://www.best.com/~tkmallon/coins/sasania/sasanian9.html

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Achaemenid Empire in the 6th and 5th centuries BC The coming of the Iranians

"Though isolated groups of speakers of Indo-European languages had appeared and disappeared in western Iran in the 2nd millennium BC, it was during the Iron Age that the Indo-European Iranians rose to be the dominant force on the plateau. By the mid-9th century BC, two major groups of Iranians appear in cuneiform sources: the Medes and the Persians. Of the two, the Medes were the more widespread and, from an Assyrian point of view, the more important group. When Assyrian armies raided as far east as modern Hamadan, they found only Medes. In the more western Zagros, they encountered Medes mixed with indigenous, non-Iranian peoples. Early in the 1st millennium, Iranian Medes already controlled almost all of the eastern Zagros and were infiltrating, if not actually pushing steadily, into the western Zagros, in some areas right up to the edge of the plateau and to the borders of lowland Mesopotamia. Persians (Parsua, Parsuash, Parsumash) also appear in roughly the same areas, though their exact location remains controversial. At times they seem to have settled in the north near Lake Urmia, at times in the central western Zagros near Kermanshah, later certainly in the southwestern Zagros somewhere near the borders of Elam, and eventually, of course, in the province of Fars. It has been argued that these various locations represent a nomadic tribe on the move; more likely they represent more than one group of Persians. What is reasonably clear from the cuneiform sources is that these Medes and Persians (and no doubt other Iranian peoples not identified by name) were moving into western Iran from the east. They probably followed routes along the southern face of the Elburz Mountains and, as they entered the Zagros, spread out to the northwest and southeast following the natural topography of the mountains. Where they could, as, for example, along the major pass across the mountains from Hamadan to Kermanshah, they infiltrated farther west. In doing so, they met resistance from the local settled populations, who often appealed to Urartu, Assyria, and Elam for assistance in holding back the newcomers. Such appeals were, of course, most welcome to the great powers, who were willing to take advantage of the situation both to advance their interests at each other's expense and to control the Iranian threat to themselves. It has been suggested that the introduction of gray and gray-black pottery into western Iran from the northeast, which signals the start of the Iron Age, is the archaeological manifestation of this pattern of a gradual movement of Iranians from east to west. The case is by no means proved but is a reasonable reading of the combined evidence. If it is so, then the earliest Iranians in the Zagros can be dated to Iron Age I times, about 1300 BC." http://www.britanica.com/bcom/eb/article/1/0,5716,109311+10+106325,00.html

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Defence

On defence and social-organization of Bha_ratam Janam, in the R.gveda

Defence is as vibrant as the people make it to be by participating with the unity of purpose and as active partners, with strategies tuned to the modern technological age and the state of the global community.

Use of warfare in social organization is a very ancient phenomenon and we find evidence for this in what is perhaps the most ancient human document, the R.gveda which is organized in 10 man.d.ala-s and over 11,000 r.ca-s. This document has been transmitted orally with extra-ordinary fidelity over millennia in the cultural traditions of Bha_ratam Janam, the Nation of Bha_rata. We can see the principles of defence presented in the context of technologies of the times and the unity of the nation.

A co-operating society of R.gvedic times

R.gveda attests to a co-operating society which was nurtured on the banks of the River Sarasvati (which is adored as ambitame, nadi_tame, devitame -- best of mothers, best of rivers and best of godesses - in 72 r.ca-s of the R.gveda). R.gveda also attests to a society which sought to establish an understanding of the cosmic phenomena in relation to beings (pan~ca-janam or bha_ratam janam) using the process of yajn~a which became the dominant cultural heritage all over Bha_rata cherished for millennia and even today, in a remarkable cultural continuity spanning millennia, the stability of which has no parallel in any other Civilization of the world. While exploring cosmic phenomena, battles and wars are used as metaphors of the yajn~a; the society of the R.gveda was in a flux of socio-economic organization, by arriving at a modus vivendi of relationship with material phenomena and nature; this social organization was such as to promote the peoples' advancement. Wars were fought to acquire wealth and riches.

It was a cooperating society among the yajn~ika-s and others, both endeavouring to generate wealth; being united with common people they become of one mind; they strive together as it were, nor do they injure the rituals of the gods, non-injuring each other they move with wealth. (Sa_yan.a, the scholiast, explains sama_na u_rve as cattle -- common property of all: sarves.a_m sa_dha_ran.e go-samu_he).

त इद् देवानां सधमाद आसन्न् ऋतावानः कवयः पूर्व्यासः ।
गूळ्हं ज्योतिः पितरो अन्व् अविन्दन् सत्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्न् उषासम् ॥

समान ऊर्वे अधि संगतासः सं जानते न यतन्ते मिथस् ते ।
ते देवानां न मिनन्ति व्रतान्य् अमर्धन्तो वसुभिर् यादमानाः ॥

7.076.04 Those ancient sages, our ancestors, observant of truth, rejoicing together with the gods, discovered the hidden ligh, and, reciters of sincere prayers, they generated the Dawn.

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7.076.05 When the common herd (of cattle had been stolen) then, associating, they concurred, nor mutually contended; they obstructed not the sacrifices of the gods, but, unoffending, proceeded with the light (they had recovered). [Lit. = in the common vast assembled they agree, nor do they strive mutually; they injure not the observances of the gods, not harming, going with treasures, or with the vasus; vasubhih = us.asam tejobhih]. r.s.i: vasis.t.ha maitra_varun.i; devata_: us.a_

Bronze-age invention of weapons and tools

R.gveda is an extraordinary document of the early human Civilization during the transition from the chalcolithic (copper and stone) to the bronze (ayas) age. Bronze constituted a revolutionary technological advance since by the process of alloying copper (ta_mra) and tin (trapu), a hardened metal was evolved which resulted in the production of metallic weapons and tools. This revolutionary invention altered the social organization radically. It should be noted that the R.gveda is not a treatise on war but the core theme is related to the processing of 'soma' through yajn~a (often wrongly translated as 'sacrifice'), using intense fire for days and nights, for example, in agnis.t.oma.

Organized armies and strategic defence

R.gveda attests to the presence of organized armies, sena_:

अ॒भि गो॒त्राणि॒ सह॑सा॒ गाह॑मानो ऽदु॒यो वी॒रः श॒तम॑न्युर् इन्द्र॑ः ।
दु॒श्च्य॒व॒नः पृ॑तना॒षाळ् अ॑यु॒ध्यो ऽ॒स्माकं॒ सेना॑ अवतु॒ प्र यु॒त्सु ॥

10.103.07 May Indra, bursting open the clouds with force; pitiless, heroic, with hundredfold anger, invincible, the overthrower of armies, irresistible, protect our armies in battles..r.s.i: apratiratha aindra

Strategic defence doctrine was an essential requirement in warfare; this is exemplified by the assumption of different forms by Vis.n.u; the complex phrase used is: **s'ipivis.t.a**:

किम् इत् ते॑ विष्णो परि॒चक्ष्य॑म् भू॒त् प्र यद् व॑व॒क्षे शि॑पिवि॒ष्टो अ॑स्मि ।
मा वर्पो॑ अ॒स्मद् अप॑ गूह ए॒तद् यद् अ॒न्यरू॑पः समि॒थे ब॒भूथ॑ ॥
वष॑ट् ते विष्णव् आ॒स आ कृ॑णोमि॒ तन् मे॑ जुषस्व शिपिविष्ट ह॒व्यम् ।
वर्ध॑न्तु त्वा सुष्टुतयो॒ गिरो॑ मे यू॒यम् पा॑त स्व॒स्तिभि॒ः सदा॑ नः ॥

7.100.06 What is to be proclaimed, Vis.n.u, of you, when you save. I am S'ipivis.t.a? Conceal not from us your real form, although you have engaged under a different form in battle. [Vis.n.u is said to have aided Vasis.t.ha in battle under an assumed form, and, when questioned, is reported to have said: I am S'ipivis.t.a (s'ipayotra rasmaya ucyate taira_vis.t.o bhavati: Nirukta 5.7-8). S'ipivis.t.a = objectionable or unobjectionable. In the preceding r.ca and the r.ca 7 of the preceding su_kta, the world is explained: penetrated, or clothed with rays of light, ras'mibhir aris.t.a, the radiant, the

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splendid; it normally means, a man naturally without prepuce; just as a man is so denuded, so is Vis.n.u, according to his own declaration, uncovered by radiance-- tejasa_ ana_ccha_ditah].

7.100.07 I offer, Vis.n.u, the oblation placed before you with the exclamation Vas.at.; be pleased, S'ipivis.t.a, with my offering; may my laudatory hymns magnify you and do you (gods) ever cherish us with blessings. r.s.i: vasis.t.ha maitra_varun.i; devata_: vis.n.u

The battles involved, as a component of strategy, not only offence but building up of defences against attacks by enemies:

इन्द्र वाजेषु नो ऽव सहस्रप्रधनेषु च ।
उग्र उग्राभिर् ऊतिभिः ॥

1.007.04 Invincible Indra, protect us in battles abounding in spoil, with insuperable defences. r.s.i: madhucchanda_ vais'va_mitra

Battles and wars are recurring metaphors in the R.gveda in almost all man.d.ala-s; Indra, Agni, Varun.a and other divinities are invoked often to achieve victory in battles and wars.

अस्य पीत्वा शतक्रतो घनो वृत्राणाम् अभवः ।
प्रावो वाजेषु वाजिनम् ॥

1.004.08 Having drunk, S'atakratu, of this (Soma juice), you became the slayer of the Vr.tras; you defend the warrior in battle. [S'atakratu = Indra, connected with a hundred (many) acts, religious rites, bahu-karma-yukta, either as the performer of rites, or the object of the rites; or, alternatively, 'endowed with great wisdom'; kratu = karma, act or prajn~a, knowledge; vr.tra_n.a_m = enemies of whom the asura, Vr.tra was the chief].

Yajn~a as a battle-field; offering of won riches to divinities

The yajn~a itself becomes a battle-field and wealth has to be won to be offered to the divinities.

वि यत् तिरो धरुणम् अच्युतं रजो ऽतिष्ठिपो दिव आतासु बर्हणा ।
स्वमीळ्हे यन् मद इन्द्र हर्ष्याहन् वृत्रं निर् अपाम् औब्जो अर्णवम् ॥

1.056.05. When you, destroying Indra, did distribute the (previously) hidden life-sustaining, undecaying waters through the different quarters of the heaven, then, animated (by Soma), you did engage in battle, and with exulting (prowess) slew Vr.tra, and did send down an ocean of waters.r.s.i: savya a_n:girasa

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हि॒न्वा॒नो हे॒तृभि॑र् य॒त आ वाजं॑ वा॒ज्य् अ॑क्रमीत् ।
सीद॑न्तो व॒नुषो॑ यथा ॥

9.064.29 The powerful Soma urged by the urging (worshippers) goes collected to the battle like warriors entering (the battle-field). [To the battle: metaphorically, for sacrifice]. r.s.i: kas'yapa ma_ri_ca; devata_: pavama_na soma

इन्दु॒र् अत्यो॒ न वा॑ज॒सृत् कनि॑क्रन्ति प॒वित्र॒ आ ।
यद् अक्षा॒र् अति॑ देव॒युः ॥

9.043.05 Rushing into battle, sounds in the trough (pavitram), beloved of the gods. r.s.i: medhya_tithi ka_n.va; devata_: pavama_na soma

तं त्वा॒ वाजे॑षु वा॒जिनं॑ वा॒जया॑मः शतक्रतो ।
धना॑नाम् इन्द्र सा॒तये॑ ॥

1.004.09 We offer to you, S'atakratu, the mighty in battle, (sacrificial) food for the acquisition, Indra, of riches. r.s.i: madhucchanda_ vais'va_mitra

The won riches are also offered to the divinities as their due share:

वि पृक्षो॑ अग्ने म॒घवा॑नो अश्यु॒र् वि सू॒रयो॒ दद॑तो॒ विश्व॒म् आयुः॑ ।
स॒नेम॒ वाजं॑ समि॒थेष्व् अ॒र्यो भा॒गं दे॒वेषु॒ श्रव॑से॒ दधा॑नाः ॥

1.073.05 May your opulent worshippers, Agni, obtain (abundant) food; may the learned (who praise you) and offer you (oblations), acquire long life; may we gain in battles booty from our foes, presenting their portion to the gods for (the acquisition of) renown.r.s.i: para_s'ara s'a_ktya

The battles were fought with arms and armour using horses and chariots. A battle of chariots is described in a complex metaphor related to the use of ten sisters (fingers) by the person performing the yajn~a:

अस॑र्जि॒ वक्वा॒ रथ्ये॒ यथा॒जौ धि॒या म॒नोता॑ प्रथ॒मो म॑नी॒षी ।
दश॒ स्वसा॑रो॒ अधि॒ सानो॒ अव्ये ऽज॑न्ति॒ वह्नि॒ं सद॑ना॒न्य् अच्छ॑ ॥

9.091.01 (Soma) on whom the minds of the gods are fixed, chief (of the gods), recipient of praise, is let loose with a shout by ceremony as (a horse is let loose by the finger) in a battle of chariots; the ten sisters (fingers) drive the bearer (of the oblation) on the elevated place to the halls (of sacrifice). [On whom the minds of the gods are fixed: tasmin hi tes.a_m mana_m.syota_ni (Aitareya Bra_hman.a 2.10)]. r.s.i: kas'yapa ma_ri_ca; devata_: pavama_na soma

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अ॒स्मा इद्॒ उ॒ त्वष्टा॑ तक्ष॒द् वज्रं॒ स्वप॑स्तमं स्व॒र्यँ॑ रणा॑य ।

वृ॒त्रस्य॑ चिद् वि॒दद् येन॒ मर्म॑ तु॒जन्न् ईशा॑नस् तुज॒ता कि॑ये॒धाः ॥

1.061.06 For that Indra, verily Tvas.t.a_ sharpened the well-acting, sure-aimed thunderbolt for the battle, with which fatal (weapon) the foe-subduing and mighty sovereign severed the limbs of Vr.tra. r.s.i: nodha_ gautama

War metaphor, as an essential strategy to ensure righteous conduct of yajn~a

The battles were fought not only with strangers but also with kinsmen. The decisive factor in identifying a foe is the failure to perform yajn~a. Sarasvati_ is invoked in battle; she is represented in the context of the five peoples who cherish her and of the saptadha_tu; this evokes the later-day association of Sarasvati_ with arts and crafts (or, technology in general) in the cultural tradition of Bha_rata. Indra successfully wields the powerful weapon, vajra, attacks the enemy Vr.tra who impounds the waters and enables the release of the waters.

त्रि॒ष॒धस्था॑ स॒प्तधा॑तुः॒ पञ्च॑ जा॒ता व॒र्धय॑न्ती ।

वाजे॑वाजे॒ हव्या॑ भूत् ॥

6.061.12 Abiding in the three worlds, comprising seven elements, cherishing the five peoples (of beings), she is ever to be invoked in battle. [Seven elements: saptadha_tu: either the metres or the river].r.s.i: bharadva_ja ba_rhaspatya; devata_: sarasvati_

[Seven elements: **saptadha_tu** interpreted as: either the metres or the river].

Saptadha_tuh, pan~caja_ta_

Some more comments are relevant (apart from the straightforward interpretation of saptadha_tu as seven metallic ores including panned gold, electrum (silver-gold quartz), also perhaps tin).

Note that this r.ca is addressed to sarasvati_.

The term pan~ca ja_ta_ is often considered as equivalent to pan~cajana_h (RV 3.37.9; 3.59.8; 7.11.4; 8.32.2; 9.65.23; 9.92.3; 10.45.6;10.53.4-5), pan~ca ma_nus.a_h (peoples, RV 8.9.2); pan~ca kr.s.tsayah(nations, RV 3.2.10; 3.53.16); pan~ca cars.n.yah (mobile RV 5.86.2;7.15.2; 9.101.9). The root kr.s. means, 'to drag' an apparent semant.related to the use of ploughing. (There is no reason why this semant.cannot be applied to the R.gvedic times -- at least related to the early periods of Kalibangan as evidenced by an excavated ploughed-field). RV 1.108.8 refers to five names: Yadu, Turvas'u, Anu, Druhyu, Pu_ru. The first four are named together in RV 8.10.5 (assuming that the r.s.i is a Pu_ru). King Suda_sa prevails over all the five (RV 7.18 su_kta; who are Yaks.u?).

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Sa_yan.a sometimes equates (RV 1.176.3) the reference to a group of five as: 4 varn.a PLUS nis.a_da (thus encompassing the entire set of people of the Bha_ratam Janam); he adds an alternative: gods, men, fathers, beasts and birds.Ya_ska's Nirukta 3.8 notes that this categorisation may have been initiated by Aupamanyava. On RV 9.66.20, Sa_yan.a notes citing Aitareya Bra_hman.a 3.31: the five are: gandharva, pitarah (fathers), deva_h (gods), raks.a_m.si (asura-s) and snakes.

> It is clear that equating the term ja_ta_h with particular names of people such as Yadu, Anu is NOT in the tradition of Bha_rata. This is a western indological innovation.

MBh (Cr. Ed. 1.13.24; 2.13.49) notes that people, in fear of Jara_sandha, fled westwards from Mathura_ towards Dva_raka_. This movement might have been along the River Sarasvati_ through ancient sites such as Kalibangan, Dholavira and on to Bet Dva_raka_. Ya_dava women were abducted by thhe A_bhi_ra. Ptolemy (c. 2nd cent. AD) notes that A_bhi_ra were settled in the lower Indus. (J. W. McCrindle, 1885, A*ncient India as described by Ptolemy*, Trubner, London, p. 136). According to MBh 2.29.9 A_bhi_ra were located upstream on the River Sarasvati_. The term a_bhi_ra may be concordant with a_yar kulam of the Tamil tradition further supported by the San:gam reference to the Ce_ra kings tracing their ancestral lineage to 42 generations from the rulers of Tuvarai (Dva_raka_), an archaeological site with a submerged city dated to c. 1500 BCE after marine archaeological explorations by SR Rao.

एतद् घेद् उत वीर्यम् इन्द्र चकर्थ पौंस्यम् ।

स्त्रियं यद् दुर्हणायुवं वधीर् दुहितरं दिवः ॥

दिवश् चिद् घा दुहितरम् महान् महीयमानाम् ।

उषासम् इन्द्र सम् पिणक् ॥

अपोषा अनसः सरत् सम्पिष्टाद् अह बिभ्युषी ।

नि यत् सीं शिश्नथद् वृषा ॥

एतद् अस्या अनः शये सुसम्पिष्टं विपाश्य् आ ।

ससार सीम् परावतः ॥

उत सिन्धुं विबाल्यं वितस्थानाम् अधि क्षमि ।

परि ष्ठा इन्द्र मायया ॥

(va_madeva gautam)RV 4.030.08 Inasmuch, Indra, as you have displayed such manly prowess, you have slain the woman, the daughter of the sky, when meditating mischief. [The daughter of the sky: the dawn, extinguished by the ascendancy of Indra throughout the day].
4.030.09 You Indra, who are mighty, have enriched glorious dawn, the daughter of heaven.
4.030.10 The terrified Us.as descended from the broken wagon when the (showerer of benefits) had smashed it.

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4.030.11 Then her shattered wagon reposed (on the bank) of the Vipa_s' (river), and she departed from afar.
4.030.12 You have spread abroad upon the earth, by your contrivance, the swollen Sindhu when arrested (on its course). [sindhu viba_lyam vitastha_nam : vigataba_lya_vastha_m, whose youth was passed, i.e., who was full of water, sampu_rn.ajalam, and vitis.t.hama_nam, stopping or being stopped].

This reference to Us.as notes that her wagon was smashed on the banks of River Vipa_s'a. In RV 4.30.12, there is a phrase: sindhu viba_lyam vitastha_nam; this may indicate a reference to three rivers: Sindhu, Sarasvati_ (vais'ambalya_) and vitastha_ (Rivre Beas) and may also indicate the changes (or obstructions) in courses of the Sindhu and the latter two rivers caused by tectonic disturbances.

The location of Naimis.a_ forest close to the River Sarasvati_ and River Gomati_ in the tradition of Bha_rata is emphasized by the following references. The traditional location of the forest is Nimsar or Nimkha_ra located in Misrikh subdivision (27^0-26' N; 80^0-35'E), about 20 miles south of Sitapur, or on the left bank of Gomati_ River, 45 miles NW of Lucknow. (A.Fuhrer, *Archaeological Survey, North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 290; cf. A. Cunninghak, *Arch. Sur. Of India Reports*, Vol. I, p. 350; B.C. Law, 1954, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 41). A_in-I-Akbari_ notes the reservoir and temples in this forest which had a large famous fort. (Gladwin's trans. II.34 and 210); the reservoir is called Cakrati_rtha, named after the cakra of Vis.n.u at the place where the cakra fell during the conflict with asura-s. Naimis.a clan of people occupied Nimsar 20 miles from Sitapur in the tradition of the Maha_janapada-s. (H.C. Raychauduri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 151). Naimis'i_ya are people living in the Naimis.a forest; The sattra-s of r.s.i-s in the Naimis.a forest are celebrated in many texts: (Pan~cavim.s'a Br. 25.6.4,5; Jaimini_ya Br. 1.363; Kaus.i_taki_ Br. 26.5; 28.4; Cha_ndogya U. 1.2.13; Ka_t.h. Sam. K.6). In the forest, a monthly Ama_vas Mela_ is held and a bigger fair is held when the newmoon falls on a Monday, it is called Somavati_ Ama_vas. (B.C. Law, *Calcutta Geographical Society Publications*, No. 3, p. 22).

Ra_ma_yan.a locates Naimis.a forest near the Gomati_ River. (Uttara Ka_n.d.a, Ch. 91). MBh. (A_diparvan) notes the location of Naimis.a as east (pra_ci_m dis'am) of the Himalavat range and the region has sacred places such as Agastyavat.a, Vasis.t.ha's peak, Bhr.gu's peak, and an asylum known as Hiran.yabindu. (Ch. 215, verses 1-6). A story is recounted of the River Sarasvati_ turning her course eastwards to see the great r.s.i-s dwelling in Naimis.a forest. (Ch. 215, verse 6). This matches with the account in Va_yu Pura_n.a (1.14) which locates Naimis.a forest on the bank of the River Dr.s.advati_, a tributary of river Sarasvati_.

Jaimini_ya Br. (1.363) refers to Sitiba_hu Ais.akr.ta as Naimis.i. Somas'us.ma was the gr.hapati and Naimis'a is the r.s.i; both celebrate a sattra. Indra comes in the shape of a monkey and snatches away the sacrificial cake. The adhvaryu r.s.i, S'itaba_hu Ais.akr.ta who has three-fold knowledge realizes that Soma has been snatched away. He knows to expiate by using bhu_r bhuvah sva_h, the sacred, imperishable syllables.Bh_ur is this world; bhuvah is air-space and suvah is yonder world. (cf. Jaimini_ya Bra_hman.a, Eng. Tr. By Hanns Oertel, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXVI (First Half), p. 177).

Matysya Pura_n.a (23.12,14) notes that the cakra of Vis.n.u fell in Naimis.a_ran.ya and the place became the sacred ti_rtha for the worship of Vara_ha. At the yajn~a performed by deva-s, Yama,

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the son of Vivasvat slayed the devoted animals. (MBh. 1.197.2). Padma Pura_n.a (6.219.1-12) notes a twelve-year yajn~a performed in the Naimis.a forest. S'aunaka also performed the 12-year yajn~a. (MBh. 1.1 ff.). S'aunaka, the Kulapati, who had index the Veda-s, had attracted to Naimis.a a concourse of scholars to discourses and disputations on religious and philosophical issues. The r.s.i-s took their abodes on the bank of the River Sarasvati_ upto Samantapan~caka. At the end of 12 years, they visited sacred shrines around Bha_rata. (MBh. 9.37.41-45). This is a remarkable account of the movement of the r.s.i-s towards the West, towards River Sarasvati_. (MBh. 9.37.50) in the doab between River Sarasvati_ and River Dr.s.advati_.

River Sarasvati_ notes the despair and anxiety of the r.s.i-s to find ti_rtha-s to perform their austerities; she starts flowing her stream there and changes course for their sake and once again, started flowing westward. In Kuruks.etra region, the reservoirs of water from the River Sarasvati_ are known as Naimis.akun~ja or Naimis.i_ya. (MBh. 9.37.53-57). This westward migration of r.s.i-s is related again in the Vanaparvan where Naimis.akun~ja is located on the banks of River Sarasvati_ and treated as part of Kuruks.etra (Mbh. 3.83.109).

R.s.i An:giras states that by bathing in (River Gomati_) Naimis.a_ran.ya 'one is sure to ascend where, seated on a celestial car, one is sure to be filled with joy on being worshipped by the Apsara-s' (13.25.); 'one who bathes in Naimis.a, and offers oblations of water to the departed manes, controlling his senses all the while acquires the merit of a human sacrifice'. (MBh. 13.25.9). R.s.is perform Vis'vajit yajn~a for the Pan~ca_la kings. (MBh. 9.41.3-4).

[Rajendra Bihari Pandeya, 1964, Naimis.a_ran.ya in literature, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 84, No. 4, October-December].

Indra is mentioned with the epithet, pa_n~cajanya, making him one of the five peoples (RV 5.32.11; 9.66.20).

In the Great Epic, 'the tradition of 'lost Vedas' and 'divided Vedas' is well known. There was at first but one Veda, but after the Kr.ta age men became men of three, men of two, men of one, and men of no Vedas, triveda, dviveda, ekaveda, anr.k, 3.149.14-29, and 5.43.43, s'a_stres.u bhinnes.u being Vedas; bhinna_s tada_ veda_h, 12.350.42 (by Apa_ntaratamas)…The Veda is either recite, declared, or made, sr.s.t.a, kr.ta. The latter word contradicts the dogma declared in the well-known words: na hi cchanda_m.si kriyante nitya_ni cchanda_m.si, 'the Vedas are not made, they are eternal,' but the sense is not opposed, as the maker is God (vedakarta_ veda_n:go veda va_hanah, 3.3.19), who only emits the Vedas as he does all else when the new aeon begins…The god who are credited with the making of the Vedas are Fire and Sun, as All-God or especially Brahman, and in the later epic Vis.n.u. It was Brahman who 'first recited the Vedas,' veda_n jagau 5.108.10…The Self-existent according to 12.328.50, created the Vedas to praise the gods, stutya_rtham iha deva_na_m veda_h sr.s.t.a_h svayambhuva_…In the important numerical analysis of 12.343.97-98, the R.gveda is said to 'have twenty-one thousand'; while the Sa_maveda has 'one thousand branches'; and the a_dhvaryava or Yajus has 'fifty-six and eight and thirty-seven (one hundred and one) branches'.[E.W.Hopkins, 1901, *The Great Epic of India: its character and origin*, repr. 1969, Calcutta, Punthi Pustak, pp. 3-4].

"The peruser of Sam.hita_, samhita_dhya_yin, is alluded to in 1.167.8 and 13.143.56. The word is used also of the epic, Vya_sa's Sam.hita_, the fifth Veda. In 12.201.8, san:gha may be used in the same sense of collection, but it probably means a quantity: r.ksa_masan:ga_m.s'ca yaju_ms.i ca_pi

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cchanda_m.si naks.atragatim niruktam adhi_tya ca vya_karan.am sakalpam s'iks.a_m ca bhu_taprakr.tim na vedmi, 'Although I have studied collections of hymns and chants and the sacrificial formulas, and also prosody, astrology, etymology, grammar, ritual, and phonetics, I do not know the First Cause of Being.'…Ya_jn~avalkya's S'atapatha Bra_hman.a alone is named, with all its latest additions (kr.tsnam sarahasyam sasam.graham saparis'es.am ca), 12.319.11 and 16. So ib. 24,25, and 34: 'I resolve in mind the Upanis.ad (Br.hada_ran.yaka) and the Paris'es.a (the last part), observing also logic, the best science or science of salvation, sa_mpara_yika_, based on the twenty-fifth (Yoga) principle.' [In the expression, loc.cit., s'loka 10, vedah sakhilah so 'ttarah, uttara refers to Upanis.ads (not to the philosophy). The Khila supplement is mentioned again in the Harivam.s'a]. Other Bra_hman.as may be impled in the list at 12.337.7 ff., Ta_n.d.ya, Ka_t.ha, Kan.va, Taittiri. [Taittiri dispute is mentioned in 12.319.17 ff.]. As 'prose works', gadya, this class of works is perhaps recognized in 3.26.3 in the words: 'The thrilling sound of yaju_m.s.i, r.cah, sa_ma_ni, and gadya_ni' (as they were recited)." [E.W.Hopkins, 1901, *The Great Epic of India: its character and origin*, repr. 1969, Calcutta, Punthi Pustak, pp. 7-9].

"…the architecture, which is of stone and metal and is attributed in all the more important building operations to the demon Asura or Da_nava Maya, who, by his magic power, builds such huge buildings as are described, immense moated palaces with arches and a roof supported by a thousand pillars. [So the great walls and palaces of Patna, which are especially mentioned in the Maha_bha_s.ya, are attributed by tradition to demoniac power (Fa-Hien), and the great architecture of Mathura_ is also ascribed to superhuman power. On Maya's ma_ya_, to which is attributed the most extensive building, compare 2.1; 5.100.1-2; 8.33.17 (Asura cities); R. 4.51.10. It is possible that Benares gha_ts are referred to in 7.60.1 (Gan:ga_) cayanaih ka_n~canais' cita_. 'Golden' buildings may be only gilded wood. Plated stone is mentioned in 2.3.32…A statue of iron is mentioned, a_yaso Bhi_mah, 11.12.15; iron bells in temples, 12.141.32.] [E.W.Hopkins, 1901, *The Great Epic of India: its character and origin*, repr. 1969, Calcutta, Punthi Pustak, pp. 391-393].

The RV su_kta 6.61 is by r.s.i bharadva_ja ba_rhaspatya and the devata_ is Sarasvati_.

In r.ca 1.130.7 (r.s.i: Parucchepa Daivoda_si_), Divoda_sa (a Bharata) is stated to be a Pu_ru.

भिनत् पुरो नवतिम् इन्द्र पूरवे दिवोदासाय महि दाशुषे नृतो वज्रेण दाशुषे

नृतो ।

अतिथिग्वाय शम्बरं गिरेर् उग्रो अवाभरत् ।

महो धनानि दयमान ओजसा विश्वा धनान्य् ओजसा ॥

1.130.07 For Pur, the giver of offerings, for the mighty Divoda_sa, you, Indra, the dancer (with delight in battle), have destroyed ninety cities; dancer (in battle), you have destroyed them with (your thunderbolt), for (the sake of) the giver of offerings. For (the sake of) Atithigva, the fierce (indra) hurled S'ambara from off the mountain bestowing (uon the prince) immense treasure, (acquired) by (his) prowess; all kinds of wealth (acquired) by (his) prowess. [nr.to = voc.of nr.tu, a dancer; ran.e nartanas'i_la, dancing in war; S'ambara is an asura who was engaged in hostilities with Kr.s.n.a, and finally destroyed, together with his six hundred sons, by Pradyumna, the grandson of Kr.s.n.a (cf. Harivams'a, Langlois, vol. iii, p. 169). Mah_bha_rata represents S'ambara as an adversary of Indra, in Dron.a-vijaya].

Parucchepa Daivoda_si_ is a Bharata and often styled a Pu_ru as seen in RV 1.129.5 and 1.131.4:

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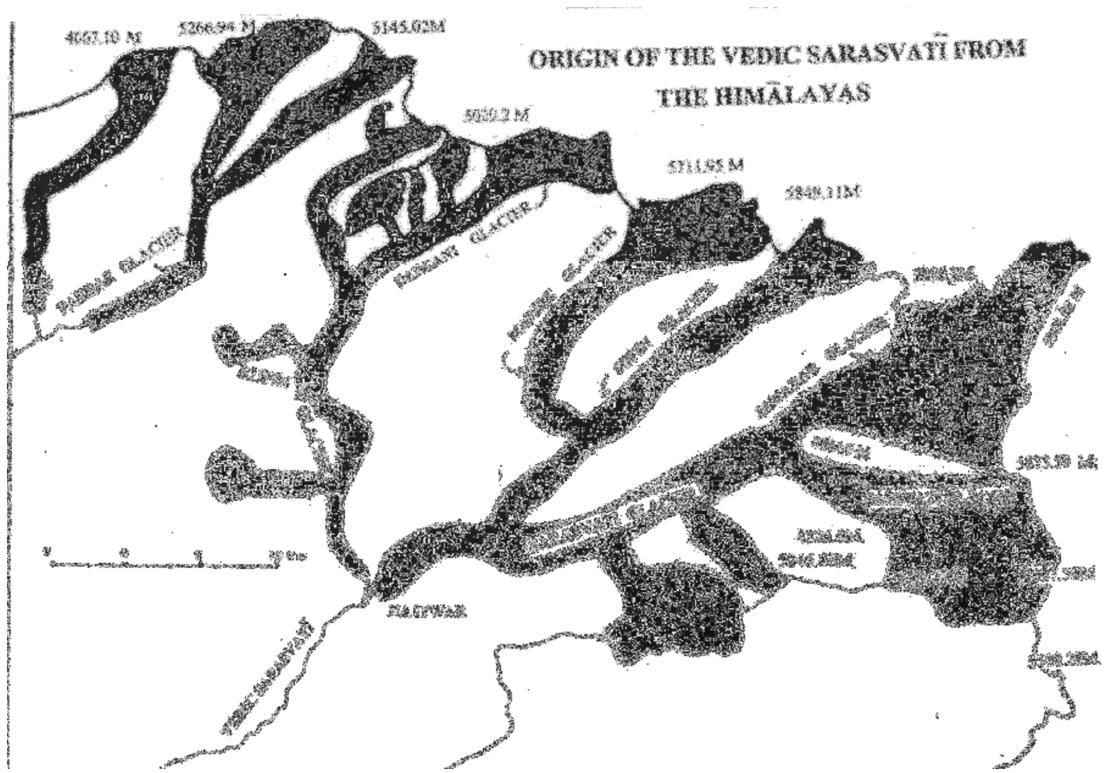
नेषि णो यथा पुरानेनाः शूर मन्यसे ।

विश्वानि पूरोर् अप पर्षि वह्निर् आसा वह्निर् नो अच्छ ॥

1.129.05 Humble the adversary of every one (your worshippers) fierce (Indra), by your aids, like radiant paths, (to glory); by your powerful aids, gude us, hero, as you have guided our forefathers, for you are honoured (by all). You (Indra), who are the sustainer (of the world), remove all (the sins) of man; present at our sacrifice, you are the bearer (of good things).

In r.cas RV 6.61.1 to 3, Divoda_sa is noted as the son of Vadhryas'va and as living on the banks of the RIver Sarasvati_. Hie enemies are: Pan.i, Pa_ra_vata and Br.saya. In the Har-ki-dun valley (from where the River Sarasvati originated from the Bandarpunch massif of the Himalayas in W. Garhwal), there live a people called 'parvatis' who celebrate Duryodhana as their god and hold an annual festival in his honour!



Origin of the Vedic Sarasvati_ from the Himalayas (After VMK Puri and BC Verma, 1998)

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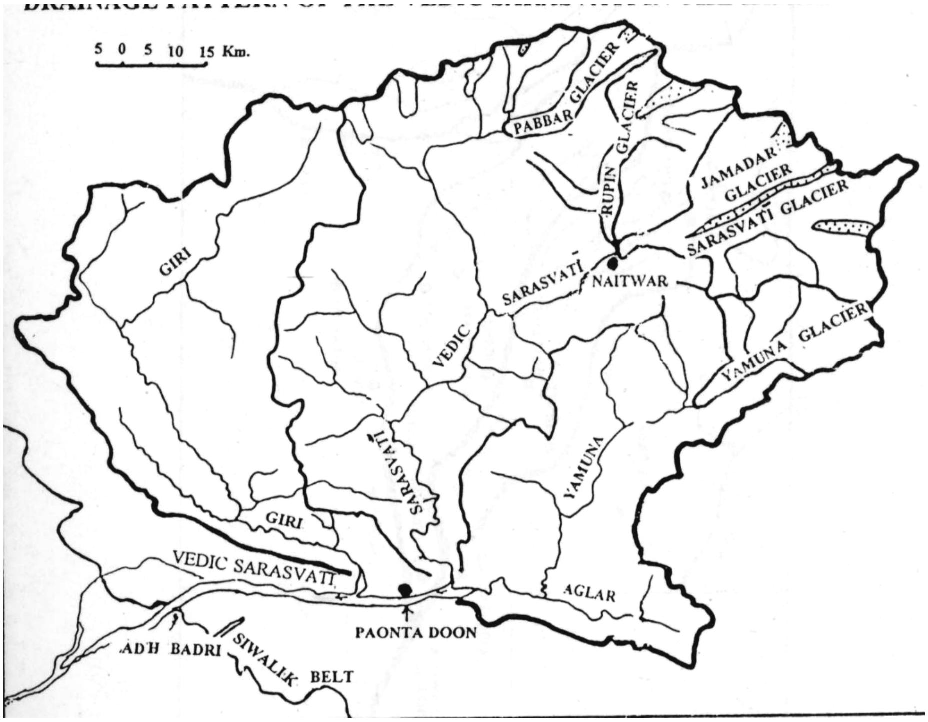

Drainage pattern of the Vedic Sarasvati_ in the Himalayas (After VMK Puri and BC Verma, 1998)

The references in r.ca-s RV 6.061.1 to 3 are to the banks of the River Sarasvati_, to Divoda_sa, son of Vadhryas'va, Pan.i, Para_vata and Br.saya. Br.saya is referred to in RV 1.93.4, **agni_s.oma_ ceti tad vi_ryam va_m yad amus.n.i_tam avasam pan.im ga_h ava_tiratam br.sayasya s'eso**, 'O Agni-Soma, your prowess manifested itself as you robbed the intractable Pan.i of his cattle; you overpowered the progeny of Br.saya'. The indication is that Br.saya is a Pan.i.

इयम् अददाद् रभसम् ऋणच्युतं दिवोदासं वध्र्यश्वाय दाशुषे ।

या शश्वन्तम् आचखादावसम् पणिं ता ते दात्राणि तविषा सरस्वति ॥

इयं शुष्मेभिर् बिसखा इवारुजत् सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिर् ऊर्मिभिः ।

पारावतघ्नीम् अवसे सुवृाभिः सरस्वतीम् आ विवासेम धीतिभिः ॥

सरस्वति देवनिदो नि बर्हय प्रजां विश्वस्य बृसयस्य मायिनः ।

उत क्षितिभ्यो ऽवनीर् अविन्दो विषम् एभ्यो अस्रवो वाजिनीवति ॥

6.061.01 She gave to the donor of the oblations, Vadhryas'va, a son Divoda_sa endowed with speed, and acquitting the debt (due to gods and progenitors), she who destroyed the churlis niggard, (thinking) only of himself, such are your bounties, Sarasvati_. (Divoda_sa: Vis.n.u Pura_n.a makes the father of Divoda_sa, Bahvas'va but this is a representation of the nameBandhyas'va; the churlish niggard: Pan.i is the obvious reference].

6.061.02 With impetuous and mighty waves she breaks down the precipices of the mountains, like a digger for the lotus fibres; we adore for our protection, the praises and with sacred rites, Sarasvati_ the underminer of both her banks. [With impetuous and mighty waters: the firs r.ca addresses

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Sarasvati_ as a goddess; in this r.ca, she is praised as a river; in this entire su_kta, this alternative attribution is apparent; like a digger for the lotus-fibres: bisa-kha_ iva bisam khanati, who digs the bisa, the long fibres of the stem of the lotus, in delving for which he breaks down the banks of the pond].

6.061.03 Destroy, Sarasvati_, the revilers of the gods, the offspring of the universal deluder, Br.saya; giver of sustenance, you have acquired for men the lands (seized by the asuras), and have showered water upon them. [Br.saya: Br.saya is a name of Tvas.t.a_, whose son was Vr.tra; Sa_yan.a, provides a legend in his introduction to the Black Taittiri_a Yajus., to illustrate te importance of correctly accentuating the words of the Veda: Indra, had killed a son of Tvas.t.a_, named Vis'varu_pa, in conseqence of which there was enmity between them. Upon the occasion of a Soma sacrifice celebrated by Tvas.t.a_, he omitted to include Indra in his invitation to the gods. Indra, however, came an uninvited guest, and by force took a part of the Soma libation. With the remainder Tvas.t.a_ performed a sacrifice for the birth of an individual who should avenge his quarrel and destroy his adversary, directing the priest to pray, now let a man be born and prosper, the killer of Indra. In uttering the mantra, however, the officiating priest made a mistake in the accentuation of the term indragha_taka, slayer of Indra, in which sense as a tatpurus.a compound, the acute accent should have been placed upon the last syllable. Instead of this, the reciter of the mantra placed the acent upon the first syllable, whereby the compound became a bahuvri_hi epithet, signifying one of whom Indra is the slayer. Consequently, wen by virtue of the rite, Vr.tra was produced, he was fore-doomed by the wrong accentuation to be put to death by Indra instead of becoming the destroyer. You have acquired for men: ks.itibhyo avani_ravindo vis.am abhyo asravah = you have shed poison upon them, or destroyed them].

[Alt. Hillebrandt, vol. 1, p. 341: "To the pious Vadhryas'va she gave the impetuous Divoda_sa, who redeems all debts. These mighty gifts come from you, O Sarasvati_, who consumed the obstinate, intractable Pan.i. Like one digging for roots, she violently broke through the ridge of the mountains with her mighty waves. With hymns and thoughts, let us invite the help of Sarasvati_, who slew the Pa_ra_vatas. Sarasvati_, cast you don the enemies of the gods, the progeny of every sly Br.saya. O you rich in horses, you gave the streams back to our abodes and made poison flow towards them." Hillebrandt notes hat the "expression praja_ vis'vasya br.sayasya requires that we interpret the word as the name of a tribe" and goes on to identify the Br.saya with the name of Barsaetes (Barzaentes) governor of Arachoti. (vol. 1, p. 343)].

त्वं ता॑इन्द्रो॒भया॑अ॒मित्रा॒न् दासा॑ वृ॒त्राण्य् आर्या॑ च शूर ।
वधी॒र् वनै॑व॒ सुधि॑तेभि॒र् अत्कै॒र् आ पृ॒त्सु द॑र्षि नृ॒णां नृ॑तम ॥

6.033.03 You, hero, Indra, destroyed both (classes of) enemies, (both) Da_sa and A_rya, adversaries; chief leader of leaders, you cut your foes in pieces in battles with well-plied weapons, as (wood-cutters fell) the forests. r.s.i: s'unahotra bha_radva_ja.

आ त॑क्षत सा॒तिम् अ॒स्मभ्य॑म् ऋभवः सा॒तिं रथा॑य सा॒तिम् अर्व॑ते नरः ।
सा॒तिं नो॒ जैत्री॒ सम् म॑हेत वि॒श्वहा॑ जा॒मिम् अजा॑मि॒म् पृत॑नासु स॒क्षणि॑म् ॥

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1.111.03 R.bhus conductors (of sacrifice), bestow ample sustenance upon us, upon our chariots, upon our horses; let every one daily acknowledge our victorious wealth, and may we triumph in battle over our foes; whether strangers or kinsmen.

Qualities of a soldier or warrior

The qualities of a great soldier or warrior are described in the R.gveda by adoring Indra as a hero who does not turn back in battle and as one who fights on:

युध्मो अनर्वा खजकृत् समद्वा शूरः सत्राषाड् जनुषेम् अषाळ्हः ।
व्यू् आस इन्द्रः पृतनाः स्वोजा अधा विश्वं शत्रूयन्तं जघान ॥

7.020.03 A warrior who turns not back in battle, a combatant, one engaged in tumults, a hero, victorious over (his) foes from birth, invincible, of great vigour, this Indra scatters (hostile) hosts and slays all (his) adversaries.r.s.i: vasis.t.ha maitra_varun.i

Equipping the warrior: weapons and technology of warfare

Valour is adored in the R.gveda and so are the weapons of war described using remarkable metaphors. Metal industry and industrial activity based on maritime resources such as pearls are referred to in the R.gveda and other vedic texts.[3]

> r.s.i: pa_yu bha_radva_ja; devata_: parts of battle: 1 varma, 2 dhanu, 3 jya_, 4 a_rtni_, 5 is.udhi, 6 pu_rva_, sa_rathi_, utta, rays, 7 many horses, 8 ratha, 9 ratha gopa, 10 bra_hman.a, pitr., soma, dya_va_ pr.thivi_, pu_s.a_, 11-12, 15-16 is.u samu_ha, 13 pratoda, 14 hastaghna, 17 yuddhabhu_mi, brahman.aspati and aditi, 18 varma-soma-varun.a, 19 devabrahma; chanda: tris.t.up, 6-10 jagati_, 12,13,15,16,19 anus.t.up, 17 pan:kti

6.075.01 When the mailed warrior advances in the front of battles, his form is like that of a cloud; with his body unwounded do you conquer; may the strength of the armous defend us. [In the front of battles: prati_kam ru_pam: Yajus. 29.58; front of the army, sena_mukham].

6.075.02 May we conquer the cattle (of the enemies) with the bow; with the bow may we be victorious in battle may we overcome our fierce-exulting (enemies) with the bow; may the bow disappoint the hope of the foe; may we subdue with the bow all (hostile) countries. [Exulting: samadah: sa, with; amda, exhilaration; or, sam, entirely; ad, who devours (Nirukta 9.17, 9.18)].

6.075.03 This bowstring, drawn tight upon the bow, and making way in battle, repeatedly approaches the ear (of the warrior), as if embracing its friend (the arrow), and proposing to say something agreeable, as a woman whispers (to her husband).

6.075.04 May the two extremities of the bow, acting in concert, like a wife sympathizing (with her husband), uphold (the warrior), as a mother nurses her child upon her lap; and may they, moving concurrently, and harassing the foe, scatter his enemies. [Like a wife: bibhr.ta_m = ra_ja_nam dha_rayeta_m; or, dha_rayata_m samam, support the arrow; samaneva yos.a_ (a singular used for

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the dual), the two extremities drawing close to the archer, like two women to their lover, stiyau yatha_ ka_ntam a_gacchatah].

6.075.05 The quiver, the parent of many, of whom many are the sons, clangs as it enters into the battle; slung at the back (of the warrior), prolific (of its shafts), it overcomes all shouting hosts. [Shouting hosts: san:ka_h pr.tana_h: san:ka_ = sounding together, sam ka_yanti; Ya_ska, Nirukta 9.14: san:ka_: from sac, to be assembled or sam, with; kr., to be renowned, armies in which there are assembled, or celebrated warriors].

6.075.06 The skilful charioteer, standing in the car, derives his horses before him whatsoever he will; praise the efficacy of the reins, for the reins from the back (of the car compel the steeds) to follow the intention (of the driver).

6.075.07 The horses raising the dust with their hoofs, rushing on with the chariots, utter loud neighings, retreating not (from the charge), but trampling with their fore feet upon the enemies, they destroy them. [The horses raising: vr.s.apa_n.ayo as'vah = pa_m.suna_m vars.akakhura, with hoofs the showerers of dust; as'vava_ra = riders: vr.s.ab as'va_h haste yes.a_m te as'vava_rah; this is the nominative of kr.n.vate ghos.a_n, calling out, jaya, jaya; a_s'eva, the horses make a noise; hes.a_di s'abda_n, neighing, and the like].

6.075.08 The spoil borne off in his car, in which his weapons and armour are deposited, is the appropriate oblation of the warrior; therefore let us, exulting, daily do honour to the joy-bestowing car. [rathava_hanam: anas, a car or truck on which the car is placed].

6.075.09 The guards (of chariot), revelling in the savoury (spoil), distributors of food, protecors in calamity, armed with spears, resolute, beautifully arranged, strong in arrows, invincible, of heroic valour, robust, and conquerors of numerous hosts. [The guards of the chariot: pitarah is the only substanive: pa_layita_rah, guards, defenders, a body of spearmen, s'aktivantah: attendants on the war chariot of the chief].

6.075.10 May the bra_hman.as, the progenitors presenters of the Soma, the observers of truth, protect us; may the faultless heaven and earth be propitious to us; may Pu_s.an preserve us from misfortune, let no calumniator prevail over us. [The observers of truth: r.ta_vr.dhah raks.a_: of deities, deva, raks.atasma_n, protect us; raks.a = raks.ata].

6.075.11 The arrow puts on a (feathery) wing; the (horn of the) deer is its point; it is bound with the sinews of the cow; it alights where directed; whenever men assemble or disperse, there may the shafts fall for an advantage. [Deer is its poit: mr.go asya_ danta: the deer is its tooth; i.e. the horn of the deer; or, mr.ga, an adjective, that which seeks or reaches the enemy (Nirukta 9.19); with the sinews of the cow: gobhih sannaddha = govika_raih sna_yubhih, with tendons derived from the cow].
6.075.12 Straight-flying (arrow), defend us; may our bodies be stone; may Soma speak to us encouragement; may Aditi grant us success.

6.075.13 Whip, with which the skilful (charioteers) last their thighs and scourge their flanks, urge the horses in battles. [Skilful carioteers: pracesah, applied to as'va_n, the intelligent horses].

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6.075.14 The ward of the fore-arm protecting it from the abrasion of the bow-string, surrounds the arm like a snake with its convulutions; may the brave man, experienced in the arts of war, defend a combatant on every side. [hastaghna = a shield, as well as the guard of the fore-arm; with its convolutions: ahiriva bhogaih = s'ari_rena, with the body].

6.075.15 This praise (be offered) to the large celestial arrow, the growth of Parjanya, whose point is anointed with venom, whose blade is iron. [The growh of Parjanya: the stem of the arrow formed of the s'ara reed or grass growing in the rainy season].

6.075.16 Arrow, whetted by charms, fly when discharged; go light among the adversaries, spare not one of the enemy.

6.075.17 Where arrows alight like shaven-headed boys may brahman.aspati, may Aditi, grant us happiness every day. [Like shaven-headed boys: kuma_ra_ vis'ikha_ iva, like boys without the lock of hair left at shaving; mun.d.ita_ mun.d.ah, shorn-headed; the arrows fall where they like, as boys before they are left with the lock of hair, before the religious tonsure, play about where they like].

6.075.18 I cover your vital parts with armour; may the royal Soma invest you with ambrosia; may Varun.a amplify your ample felicity; may the gods rejoice (at beholding you) triumphant. [May Varun.a amplify: uror vari_yo varun.as te kr.n.otu, may Varun.a make the increase of the large; that is, sukham, happiness].

6.075.19 Whoever, whether an unfriendly relative or a stranger, desires to kill us, may all the gods destroy him; prayer is my best armour. [Sa_maveda: brahma varma mama_ntaram, s'arma varma mama_ntaram, my best happiness my armour].

Presence of camel, us.t.ra, in the Civilization: archaeological and textual evidence

The Daimabad cylinder seal was found in the Jorwe cultur levels (c. 1400-1100 BCE).

"The scene shows a horse-driven cart or chariot. The chariot has a squarish frame made of four vertical members at four corners and horizontal bars attached in the middle of their height. Only one wheel is seen. It seems to be solid. This chariot differs in details from the chariot in the cache of bronzes found on the site in 1974 ascribable, on circumstantial and stylistic grounds, to the late Harappan phase, phase II of Daimabad. From the top of the front right side member of the frame of the chariot lies what looks like an attachment on the back of the horse driving the chariot. The horse seems to be of small stature like that of Bhimthadi breed. That horse was one of the favourite animals of the Jorwe culture is also attested to by a representation of horse in painting on the Jorwe ware. Besides, bones of horse, have also been obtained from excavation.

"In front of the horse is shown some plant and in front of the plant is an naimal, perhaps a short-horned deer with its head turned toward its back. The deer is followed by an animal with a long neck, evidently a camel, in walking position as is apparent from the raised right side legs, the front one being the most artistically engraved. Representation of camel in black painting on one of the sherds of the Jorwe ware is

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another evidence which leaves no doubt that the people of the Jorwe culture at Daimabad were acquainted with domestic species of this animal.

"In front of the camel between it and the back side of the frame of the chariot or cart occur two representations marked by oblique wavy lines looking like snakes and a small dumb-bell shaped incision." [S.A. Sali, 1987, A terracotta cylinder seal from Daimabad, in: AM Shastri et al, eds., *Vajapeya: essays on evolution of Indian art and culture*, I, Delhi 35-57.]

Camelus dromedarius

The zoological remains found at Mohenjo-daro point to the presence of domesticated camel in the civilization. The following extracts are from Marshall's report:

"Of the *Equus caballus* Colonel Sewell notes that it was probably of the same stock as the modern country-bred of Western India and closely akin to the Anau horse. So far, therefore, as the breed is concerned, this is precisely the animal that might be expected at Mohenjo-daro. On the other hand, the absence of any representation of a horse among the many animals portrayed here and at Harappa_, points to the bones of the *Equus caballus*, which were found near the surface, being of a

later date. [A rough terra-cotta figurine recently unearthed by Mr. Mackay might perhaps be intended for a horse, but might equally represent the wild ass (gurkhar = *Equus hemionus*), which still roams the deserts of Thar and Pa_rkar and Jaisalmi_r]. This negative argument, however, is not altogether conclusive; for the camel, too, is unrepresented, though the discovery of a bone of this beast at a depth of 15 feet in the SD Area leaves little doubt that it was known as far back as the Intermediate Period. Moreover, if Professor Langdon is right in inferring that the horse had already been introduced into Mesopotamia before the middle of the fourth millennium BC, it is likely to have found its way into the Indus valley also. [This inference of Prof. Langdon's is based on the occurrence of the ideogram for horse (ans'u-kur = ass of the mountains) in archaic Sumerian. Cf. p. 453. Although the question is still open, there is no sufficient reason at present for inferring that the horse was known at Mohenjo-daro in Chalcolithic times.]" (John Marshall, 1931, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization (MIC)*,I, p. 28).

"*Tylopoda*, Family Camelidae; *Camelus dromedarius*? SD 1386, depth 15 ft. Lower portion, including the glenoid fossa, of left scapula. A comparison of this fragment with the corresponding portion of the skeleton of a recent camel in the collection of the Zoological Survey of India leaves no doubt as to its identity. It is interesting to note that up to the present time this is the only example of any remains of this animal, so common at the present time throughout Sind." (ibid., p. 660).

'I personally take it to represent horse. I do not think we need be particularly surprised if it should be proved that the horse existed thus early at Mohenjo-daro'. (Mackay, EJH, 1938, *FEM*, Vol. I, p. 289). About this terracotta figurine Wheeler wrote: (Mackay, I*ndus Civilization*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 92): 'One terracotta from a late level of Mohenjodaro seems to represent a horse, reminding us that the jaw bone of a horse is also recorded from the same time, and that the horse was known at

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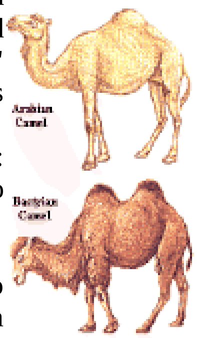
considerably early period in northern Baluchistan... It is likely enough that camel, horse and ass were in fact all familiar feature of the Indus caravans.'

There are apparently no pictographs of the camel on the inscriptions of the civilization. The absence of such pictographs does not, however, negate the presence of the camel as a domesticated animal, perhaps also its use as a draught-animal to draw the plough and to be part of a caravan of the traders of the civilization.

Camelus dromedarius (one-humped). http://www.oaklandzoo.org/atoz/azcamel.html See the A to Z of camels, about Ata Allah, God's gift , the Bedouin name for Camelus dromedarius (one-humped), the 'one-hump' dromedary, also knownas the Arabian camel at: http://www.arab.net/camels/welcome.html "Arabian camels are found from Northwest India and the lowland of Afghanistan to the Arabian Peninsula and Somalia to the South and Westward African deserts." http://fl.essortment.com/desertcamel_ymc.htm See also some interesting facts presented at: http://www.earthquest2000.com/asia/camel.htm



See some info on the Bactrian camel (two-humped) at: http://www.fonz.org/zoogoer/zg1999/so99camels.htm See also http://www.nature.ca/notebooks/english/camel.htm http://lrs.ed.uiuc.edu/students/qyu/camel.htm

These are two terracotta images of camels; no.2 has two humps; no.5 is a camel-head. These two specimen are from Bhitari and Rajghat dated ca. 300 to 600 AD. "It is not traceable in terracotta form from the other sites of Ganga-Yamuna valley." (After Plate V in: Dr. Pratibha Prakash, 1985, Delhi, Agam Kala Prakashan; cf. p. 128). The presence of the one-humped camel or the dromedary in Sind and in the Great Indian Desert, Marusthali_ indicates that the ancient habitat-link was not with Bactria but with Arabia. It is likely that the one-humped camel was the domesticated animal found in the zoological remains at Mohenjo-daro, since the two-humped genus is found in a wild state in the Gobi desert (Mongolia).

http://www.nature.ca/notebooks/english/camel.htm Is the Akkadian **udru** "Bactrian camel" an Iranian loan? see EWA I 238, KEWA III 652, cf. Diakonoff in JAOS 105, 1985, 600; the camel of BMAC is from Central Asia ca. late 3rd mill. BC; apparently this may the two-humped variety from Mongolia?

Roth and Aufrecht erroneously interpret the word, 'us.t.ra' which occurs in the R.gveda as a buffalo or a humped bull. Perhaps, Hopkins is right in interpreting this word as a camel; the evidence is provided by the lexemes in almost all languages of Bha_rata, listed on this page.

us.t.i_ occurs in RV 10.106.2; TS. 5.6.21.1. Roth (St. Petersburg Dictionary) and Aufrecht (cf. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 22) cite the references in RV 1.13.2, 8.5.37 to interpret the term us.t.ra as a humped bull or buffalo. Hopkins disagrees *and* ***says that the meaning in all cases is, 'camel'*** *(JAOS, 17,83). [loc.cit., Vedic Index*, p. 104].

Vedic Index adds that the animal was used as a beast of burden yoked in fours (AV 20.127.2; RV 8.6.48). How is this interpretation of yoking in fours is arrived at is unclear; see the translations below.

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us.t.t.a [vastar draught-animal (Avestan)] bullock (RV. x.106.2) (Suryakanta, *Practical Vedic Dictionary*, 1981). This semant. may have led to the interpretation of us.t.ra as a draught-buffalo.

us.t.ra_ yasya prava_han.o vadhu_manto dvirdas'a
vars.ma_ rathasya ni jihi_d.ate diva i_s.ama_n.a_ upaspr.s'ah (AV 20.127.2)

The twenty camels with their wives (powers) pull the chariot of him (Nara). The upper part of that chariot moves about to touch the world of Sun.

tri_n.yus.t.rasya na_ma_ni hiran.yam ityeke abravi_t (AV 20.132.13-14)

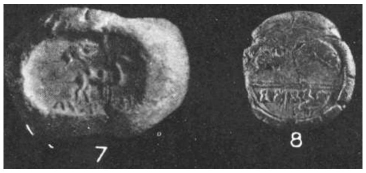
The camel has three names. One name out of them is Hiran.ya [In the refernce books, by the camel is meant the chariot that carries the mighty and the dynamic].

English translations f the Atharvaveda verses are based on WD Whitney and Bha_s.ya of Sa_yan.a_ca_rya; cf. *Atharvaveda Sam.hita_*, ed. by K.L. Joshi, 2000, Delhi, Parimal Publications.

imamu_rn.a_yum varun.asya na_bhim tvacam pas'u_na_m dvipada_m catus.pada_m
tvas.t.uh praja_na_m prathamam janitramagne ma_ him.si_h parame vyoman
us.t.rama_ran.yamanu te dis'a_mi tena cinva_nastavo ni s'i_da
us.t.ram te s'ugr.cchatu yam dvis.mastam te s'ugr.cchatu

(13.50) This creature clothed in wool, Varun.a's navel, the skin of animals quadruped and biped, the first that was produced of Tvas.t.tr's creatures, O Agni, harm not in the highest region. The forest buffalo do I assign three: building etc. as above (mutato mutando) [He removes the head of the ram. Skin: provider of clothing; quadrupeds: horses, cows, mules etc.]

Since the word, 'us.t.ra' occurs twice in this Yajurveda verse, it is incorrect to call it a buffalo just because the adjective 'wild or forest' occurs. It is, however, possible that this us.t.ra is a referernce to the wild two-humped bactrian camel since it is now known to occur in the wild in Mongolia. So far, there is no evidence of this genus in the archaeological finds of the Sindhu-Sarasvati river basins.



1. Sealing with the device of a boar and a double-humped camel, Rajghat, Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6006; boar is in the upper field; 2. Sealing with boar and camel and the legend Hastinandiya, Rajghat, Bharat Kala Bhavan, no. 6037; boar faces the camel. The presence of the bactrian camel together with the boar, in these seals ca. 3rd cent. BC indicates the wild context in which the animals occurred. Hence, perhaps the use of the adjective, wild or forest in the r.ca

i_s'a_na_ya parasvata a_labhate mitra_ya gaura_nvarun.a_ya mahis.a_br.haspataye gaya_m.stvas.t.ra us.t.ra_n

(24.28) To i_s'a_na he sacrifices wild asses; to Mitra Gaura-s; to Varun.a buffaloes; to Br.haspati Gayal-s; to Tvas.t.r. camels, [i_s'a_na: Lord ruler; one of the names of titles of Rudra. Wild asses: or perhaps, wild buffaloes, the exact animal intended being uncertain].

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s'vitra a_diya_na_mus.t.ro ghr.n.i_va_nva_rdhri_nasaste matya_ aran.ya_ya sr.maro ruru_ gaidrah kvayi kut.arurda_tyauhaste va_jina_m ka_ma_ya pikah

(24.39) The white animal belongs to the A_ditya-s; the camel, the Ghr.in.i_va_n, the rhinoceros to Mati; the sr.mara belongs to the Forest-God; the Ruru buck is Rudra's; Kvayi, cock, gallinule, these are the Va_jins'; the cuckoo belongs to Ka_ma. [Ghr.n.i_va_n, explained by Mahi_dhara as the splendid or sstrong victim; Mati, thought or devision; va_jins, the deified coursers of the gods, a class of divinities according to Sa_yan.a; cuckoo: pika whose voice 'Pi kaka_n, where is my darling?' is chiefly heard in Spring, is the favourite bird of Ka_ma, the God of Love.

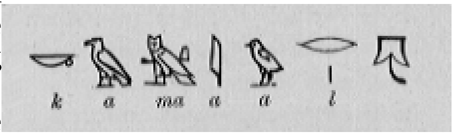
*Yajurveda Sam.hita_*, 24.28 trans. Ralph TH Griffith, 1899, repr. Delhi, Nag Publishers.

zarathus.t.ra may be a combination of s'arath + us.t.ra (where in the two elements may be interpreted as: s'a_rathi, charioteer + us.t.ra, cart or waggon) (See Monier Williams' Skt. lex.) If this interpretation is valid, the direction of movement of the people who spoke Avestan in Zarathushtra's times may be surmised: from Bha_rata to Baluchistan! This has to be elaborated further by evaluating the semantics of the Avestan texts within the framework of continuity of R.gvedic tradition on the right bank of the Sindhu river. Note: us.t.ra is the name of an asura according to Harivam.s'a.

The name is not Zoroaster, which is a Greek transliteration of the name, but Zarathushtra, which may means, in ancient Iranian, "yellow camel." (zara = yellow, ushtra = camel). An alternate reading is "old camel." [The Semitic alphabetic sequence corresponds to 'aleph (ox), bet (bayit-house), daleth (door), gimel (camel); this word may have led to kramela (Skt.) and kamel (German).

Abegal -- Pre-Islamic northern Arabian desert God. Known from the Palmyrian desert regions as a tutelary God of Bedouins and camel drivers. Mesopotamian (Sumerian) minor attendant spirits. Associated with Enki and residing in the Abzu or primeval water.

Strabo: *Geography***,** Book XVI, Chap. iv, 2, 26: "...Arabia Felix, stretching out 12,000 *stadia* towards the south to the Atlantic Sea. The first people, next after the Syrians and Jews, who occupy this country are husbandmen. These people are succeeded by a barren and sandy tract, producing a few palms, the acanthus, and tamarisk; water is obtained by digging [wells] as in Gedrosia. It is inhabited by Arabian Scenitae, who breed camels [in the area just to the west of the Euphrates]....Camels are the substitute for horses, and perform the labor. They wear no tunics, but have a girdle about their loins, and walk abroad in sandals." http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/arabia1.html



'The word "camel" is Egyptian. It is spelled thus: *k-a-ma-a-a-a-l.* The *a* was evidently very broad, for it is repeated four times, the whole ending with the generic determinative of a hide, as in the word *hetra*, or "horse." '
http://www.digital.library.upenn.edu/women/edwards/pharaohs/pharaohs-7.html

Archaeological evidence of settlements

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Vra_ta of R.gveda were troops, the citadels of almost all Civilization sites such as Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Dholavira, Banawali, Surkotada, Lothal, Banawali attest to town-planning including 'citadels'. The Sarasvati Sindhu Civilization had many industrial sites showing the use of fire to process mineral ores to make metallic weapons and tools and the use of other minerals to make utility and ornamental articles of faience, steatite, carnelian, turquoise and lapis lazuli. The smith and the lapidary, the mason and the trader, the blacksmith and the builder were the Sarasvati Sindhu people, comparable to the vra_ta of the Vedic cultural tradition.

The citadels or fortified settlements of the Civilization find their echoes in the forts built during the historical periods in Bha_rata. The Sarasvati and Sindhu River Basins are distinguished by the presence of many citadels or forts.

See, for e.g., the continuing tradition of fortification in regions such as the Rann of Kutch

In the context of the keys to decipherment of the inscriptions, the use of pictographs (both signs and field symbols and their ligatures) averaging about 6 in number seem to suggest the possible use of the script to depict lists of metallic weapons and armour. Such lists on about 3,000 inscribed objects (copper plates, seals, tablets, bangles and even weapons themselves) were either property items possessed by a warrior or bills of lading for trading in the metallic weapons and armour by armourers. Such a list also gets depicted on a monolithic sign board at Dholavira, a board which might have adorned the gateway of the citadel. The key to decipherment of inscribed objects is thus seen to relate an active set of warriors and armourers who were able to harness the revolutionary invention: the alloying of minerals to create hard metal tools and weapons.

On the banks of the River Sarasvati which nurtured the people who have given the world, the R.gveda, also flourished the most extensive Civilization of its time, ca. 5500 Before Present (BP). The expansive nature of contacts (mostly for trade) of the Civilization is stunning, extending from Ropar on the east to Mesopotamia on the Tigris-Euphrates doab. This long-distance trade and contact was facilitated by the riverine and maritime transport systems on the Rivers Sarasvati and Sindhu and across the Gulf of Kutch and the Persian Gulf.

This Civilization with urbanized use of burnt-bricks, organized streets, water-reservoirs and other water-management systems, street-drains, well-regulated system of weights and measures, workers' platforms perhaps used for metal-, shell-, and lapidary-crafts, was also exemplified by the transition to bronze-age with many inscriptions presented on copper plates and on copper/bronze weapons. Many urban archaeological centres such as Lothal, Dholavira, Surkotada, Kalibangan, Banawali, Kunal, Ropar on this River Basin were fortified settlements (often referred to by archaeologists as 'citadels' and 'lower towns'). The inscriptions are composed of normalized hieroglyphs and ligatured pictographs presented as 'signs' and pictorial motifs which often present ligatured animal bodies. The average number of 'signs' on inscribed objects was five and it is likely that the inscriptions conveyed arms and armour either possessed by warriors or produced by armourers for trade-- as veritable bills of lading. The artefacts unearthed by archaeology provide evidence of the evolution and continuity of the cultural traditions of Bha_rata on the Sarasvati-Sindhu River Basins. There is nothing among the artefacts which is not Vedic. On the other hand, there is nothing in the Vedic texts which do not find parallels in the archaeological discoveries -- e.g. references to maritime and riverine trade traditions and to well-developed cities abound in the R.gveda, echoing the archaeological finds of urban centres and trade contacts between the Sarasvati-Sindhu Civilization and Mesopotamian Civilization.

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The River Sarasvati seems to have been the substratum of the Civilization, nurturing as it did over 1,600 (out of about 2,600) archaeological sites on the river basins of the Sarasvati-Sindhu doab. The River Sarasvati was also the locus of both the Vedic culture and the Harappan Civilization. Given the continuity of the cultural traditions in Bha_rata into the historical periods, it is perhaps apposite to hypothesise that the rise of the Maurya and the S'a_tava_hana dynasties during a few centuries preceding the Christian era, was a direct legacy of the bronze-age Bha_rata. It may also be hypothesised that the seeds of the Maha_bha_rata war were sown by this Civilization which made available weapons and armour using the hardened alloy, bronze. The Great Epic, the Maha_bha_rata which is a narration of the mighty war which took place in ancient India seems to be an echo of the Dasara_jn~a wars narrated in the R.gveda and certainly constitutes the sheet-anchor of Bha_rata's ancient history providing as it does geographical evidence of the River Sarasvati while describing Balara_ma's pilgrimage for 42 days along the River basin from Dwa_raka, through Somnath to Mathura (S'alya parva), offering homage to his ancestors in places such as Pehoa (Pr.thu_daka, Kuruks.etra), Ka_ra_pacava (Yamunotri), Plaks.apras'ravan.a (origin of River Sarasvati in Himalayan glaciers in W.Garhwal, Har-ki-dun (Svarga_rohin.i) valley in Uttara_n~cal) and Mathura (on River Yamuna). The wars fought to ensure the path of righteous conduct in social organization also enabled the formation of the Bha_ratam Janam as a ra_s.t.ra, (both are terms used in the R.gveda), i.e. Bha_rata as a Nation State with a unity of purpose -- the enthronement of Dharma (a word that is tough to translate into English; perhaps, 'a human way of life' or, 'transcendental ethical conduct' expected of every citizen, in every walk of life). This Dharma is referred to in later philosophical texts as sana_tana dharma or 'eternal, transcendental ethical conduct' which is as old as human Civilization itself.

With the desiccation of the River Sarasvati which supported the substratum of the Civilization since the basin was close the sources of copper in Khetri mines, the vra_ta (troops) moved away from this river basin towards the Ganga-Yamuna doab, southwards to the Godavari river valley (to constitute the vra_tya of the Vedic tradition -- the magadha minstrels and the su_ta, the differentiated functionaries, the armourers and rathaka_ra who became the ratnins of the ra_s.t.ra) and beyond and westwards to Haraqvaiti (< Sarasvati) region (to constitute the set of kavi-s and karapan-s of the Avestan religious and Iranian national tradition). The memory of the great river Sarasvati ensures all over Bha_rata and neighbouring regions and even in Croatia where the word croats may be derived as sarasvati > haraqvaiti > hravat > kravat > croat; the word hravat is attested as a region in the Behistun inscription of Darius dated to ca. 6th cent. BCE.

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Roots of civilization

The earliest traces of human existence in India, so far discovered, go back to the second interglacial period between 400,000 and 200,000 BC. This is suggested by a large number of primitive stone tools found in the Soan Valley and in south India, chiefly around Madras.

Primitive man in the Paleolithic Age [Stone Age], which lasted till 8000 BC, used tools and implements of rough stone. Flint was commonly used as it is hard and flakes easily. Early homo sapien was essentially a food gatherer and depended on nature for food.

As the demand for food increased, specialized tools were made by flaking stones, which were pointed on one end. Tools were basically used to kill small animals and tearing flesh.

Cave Paintings

Control of fire constituted a principal step in improving living styles. Homo sapien first appeared circa 36,000 BCE.

Cave Paintings at Bhimbetka

From 8000 BCE which saw- the end of the Ice Age, began an intermediate stage called as Mesolithic Age [Late Stone Age] which lasted up to 4000 B.C. in Bharat. Simple hand held stone tools were now attached to tree sticks with ropes made from animal skins. The tools like axes, spears helped in jungle clearances, resulting in organized farming.

Using white and red pigments, paintings were made, in the caves of Chotanagpur in central India, in Bhimbetka Caves near Bhopal and south of the river Krishna there are Mesolithic sites. Some of these paintings are dated to 12,000 years Before Present.

Neolithic Age [New Stone Age] from 4000 B.C. to 2500 B.C was the last phase of the Stone Age, characterized by the use of finely flaked, small stone tools, also known as blades and burins.

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Overlapping the neolithic period, metals like bronze and copper began to be used and these periods are known as Chalcolithic Age [Metal Age] from 3300 B.C. to 1000 B.C. These cultures extended from the Chotanagpur plateau to the upper Gangetic basin. Some of the sites of this era are Brahmgiri (near Mysore) and Navada Toli on the Narmada.

Megalithic culture and regional evolution of Iron Age in Bha_rata

There are a large number of megalithic sites in Bha_rata:

Tamil Nadu : 388; Karnataka: 300; Kerala: 188; Andhra Pradesh: 147; Maharashtra: 90; Pondicherry: 3. [Table 6.6 in GL Possehl and Praveena Gullapalli, 1999].

"The earliest iron implements associated with the Peninsular Indian Megalithic are simple implements such as arrowheads, daggers, and domestic vessels. They are associated with the transitional times the Megalithic Complex and the preceding South Indian Neolithic. There is solid evidence for cultural continuity in the region during this shift in metal technology. (Shaffer, JG, 1995, The Watgal Excavations: An Interim Report, *Man and Environment* 20: 57-64). The earliest date for iron in the region (ca. 1100 BCE) is from the Neolithic/Megalithic Transition Period of Hallur on the Tungabhadra River in Karnataka (Nagaraja Rao, MS, 1971, Protohistoric Cultures of the Tungabhadra Valley: A report on Hallur Excavations, Dharwar, MS Nagaraja Rao; 1981, Earliest iron-using people in India and the Megaliths, pp. 25-32 in *Mandu: Recent researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History, the Shri MN Deshpande Festschrift,* ed. MS Nagaraja Rao, Delhi, Agam Kala Prakashan)…

"Excavations at Gufkral in the Vale of Kashmir by the Archaeological Survey of India (*Indian Archaeology, A Review* 1981-82: 19-25) have revealed a 'Megalithic' occupation **associated with iron**. Very early radiocarbon dates for this occupation are given (Gufkral, Period II, Megalithic Iron Age, 2195, 1885, 2131, 1888 BCE) These dates would puch back the widespread use of iron into the beginnings of the second millennium BCE. There is an underlying Neolithic at Gufkral, however, and we know almost nothing about the nature and amount of iron found in Period II. Could we be documenting an instance of 'Bronze Age Iron' in the subcontinent here? Not enough is known to answer these questions, but the dates from Gukral bring these issues into reasonably sharp focus. It is evident that the manifestation of the Ealry Iron Age in South Asia is regional in character…" (GL Possehl and Praveen Gullapalli, 1999, p. 158).

The finds related to Megalithic iron in Bha_rata attest to the need for a deeper analysis of the findings related to the evolution of Iron Age in Bha_rata.

"Abstract. Traditional frameworks for the Early Iron Age in South Asia have emphasized diffusion and external stimuli as major factors in understanding the transition to iron production. However, scholars are now looking within the subcontinent for an understanding of the development of iron technology. Four principal archaeological assemblages document the Early Iron Age: the Gandharan Grave Culture, the Painted Grey Ware Assemblage, the Pirak Assemblage, and the Megalithic Complex. These regional manifestations are seen as possible outgrowths of a series of

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local Bronze Age traditions that seemed to have an awareness of iron. An adequate understanding of the technological processes involved in the production of early iron will yield much information regarding the transition to the Iron Age, but such an understanding has yet to be reached. A survey of the literature on metallurgical analyses reveals that although some promising work has been done, there is still much left to do if we are to reach a fuller understanding of the South Asian Iron Age…

TABLE1 [Possehl, Gregory L. and Gullapalli, Praveena, 1999]
RADIOMETRIC DATES FOR MEGALITHIC IRON IN PENNINSULAR INDIA

SITE AND PERIOD	LAB NO.	CALIBRATED DATE BC/AD (1δ CAL) (CALIB-3 PROGRAM)
RADIOCARBON DATES		
Hallur, Period IB, Late Neolithic	TF-586 TF-576	1415 (1310) 1134 BC 1679 (1522) 1426 BC
Hallur, Period II, Neolithic/Iron Age Overlap	TF-575 TF-573 TF-570	1255 (1039) 918 BC 1116 (976, 965, 935) 837 BC 1378 (1196, 1181, 1165, 1141, 1139) 1007 BC
Kakoria, Megalithic	TF-179 TF-183	AD 1646 (1673, 1779, 1797, 1945, 1953) 1954 AD 1643 (1672, 1781, 1795, 1946, 1953) 1954
Korkai, Megalithic	TF-987	906 (818) 795 BC
Naikund, Megalithic	BS-94 BS-92	797 (759, 676, 658, 641, 550) 405 BC 782 (522) 398 BC
Paiyampalli, Megalithic	TF-828 TF-824 TF-823 TF-825	333 (102) BC AD 9 AD 1183 (1271) 1294 800 (764, 614, 606) 410 BC AD 1262 (1294) 1396
Paiyampalli, Neolithic/Megalithic Transition	**TF-827**	**2033 (1892) 1747 BC**
Paiyampalli, Late Southern Neolithic	TF-833 TF-829 TF-832 TF-829 (BS)	1735 (1499, 1481, 1456) 1223 BC AD 978 (1027) 1176 AD 1193 (1278) 1300 AD 787 (897, 910, 958) 1015
Palavoy, Neolithic/Megalithic Transition	TF-700	1855 (1680) 1526 BC
Satanikota, Megalithic	BS-202 BS-201 BS-204 BS-203	AD 544 (635) 672 AD 340 (427) 554 8081 (8018) 7927 BC 6458 (6372) 6182 BC
Takalghat, Pre-Iron Megalithic	TF-783 TF-784 TF-784 (BS)	796 (759, 676, 658, 641, 550) 406 BC 768 (487, 442, 424) 395 BC 758 (401) 264 BC
THERMOLUMINESCENCE DATES		
Kumaranhalli	PRL-TL-47 PRL-TL-50	1290±90 BC 1270±170 BC
Gufkral (RADIOCARBON DATES, PERIOD II , MEGALITHIC IRON AGE)	**BS 434** **BS 431** **BS 433** **BS 371**	**2195 (2035) 1900** **1885 (1747) 1677** **2131 (1945) 1779** **1888 (1747) 1674** **CALIBRATED DATE BC**

Carbon-14 dates for the occurrence of Iron in Megalithic Sites of Bha_rata [After GL Possehl and Praveena Gullapalli, 1999]

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Map of sites in Bha_rata related to the Gandhara Grave Culture, Painted Grey Ware Assemblage, Pirak Assemblage and the Megalithic Complex [After Fig. 6.1 in: GL Possehl and Praveena Gullapalli, 1999].

"The 'dark age' between the Harappan Civilization and the Painted Grey Ware Assemblage has been closed (Joshi, J.P., 1978, Interlocking of Late Harappa Culture and Painted Grey Ware Culture in the Light of Recent Excavations, *Man and Environment* 2: 98-101), with continuity and even an overlap demonstrated between the two; and excavations in South India have demonstrated cultural continuity from the Neolithic to Megalithic occupations (Kennedy, KAR, 1975, *The Physical Anthropology of the Megalith Builders of South India and Sri Lanka*, Canberra: Oriental Monograph Series of the National University of Australia; Shaffer, JG, 1995, The Watgal Excavations: An Interim Report, *Man and Environment* 20: 57-64). Consequently, there seems to be little archaeological evidence to support the view that these cultural phenomena are radical breaks from what came before them…

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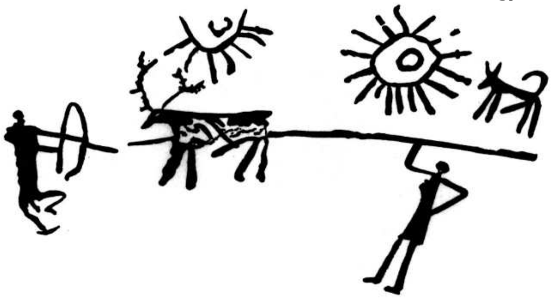
Number of Painted Greyware sites [From Mughal, MR, 1982, Recent Archaeological Research in the Cholistan Desert, pp. 85-95 in: *Harappan Civilization: A Contemporary Perspective*, ed., GL Possehl, Delhi, Oxford and IBH and the American Institute of Studies; and Joshi, JP, 1993, *Excavation at Bhagwanpura 1975-76 and other explorations and excavations 1975-81 in Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab, Delhi, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 89*:8] : Bahawalpur: 14; Punjab: 108; Haryana 258; Rajasthan: 101; Uttar Pradesh: 218.

"…Jagat Pati Joshi and his team from the Archaeological Survey of India have done much to dispel the impression through their explorations followed by an overlap between the Post-urban Harappan and the Painted Grey Ware (Joshi 1976, 1978, 1993). Thus the historical gap that once existed separating the Early Iron Age cultures from those of the preceding Bronze Age in northern India and Pakistan has now been closed and there is good evidence for the cultural continuity between the two periods…With the exception of TF-191 from Atranjikhera (and the 'sport' from Ganwaria) all of the dates for Painted Grey Ware are in the first millennium BCE…

"The Megalithic Complex. The Megaliths of South Asia are an immense field of study…Burial monuments incorporating large stone constructions, associated with habitation sites, are known from prehistoric times in many regions of the subcontinent, principally the northwestern mountainous areas of Kashmir and Almora, the Vindhyas (Sharma, GR, 1985, Megalithic Cultures of the Northern Vindhyas, pp. 477-480 in *Recent Advance in Indo-Pacific Prehistory*, eds., VN Mishra and P Bellwood, Delhi, Oxford and IBH; Singh, P., 1985, Megalithic Remains in the Vindhyas, pp. 473-476 in *Recent Advances in Indo-Pacific Prehistory*, eds., VN Misr aand P Bellwood, Delhi, Oxford and IBH); the Deccan, and the deep south of Peninsular India. Outliers in southwestern Sindh have been reported as well (Wheeler, REM, 1959, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947: Megalithic and Other Cultures in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore State. *Ancient India* 4: 159-160; Qamar, MS, 1983, Excavation of Megalithic Burial at Dumlotti, District Karachi, *Journal of Central Asia* 6: 97-110). Aspects of this tradition are still in existence in the subcontinent, among the Nagas and Khasis of the northeast, and other tribes of the Chota Nagpur and Bastar regions. The connections have not yet been sorted out for this complex, historically deep set of relationships (Furer-Haimendorf, C.von, 1945, The problem of the Megalithic Cultures in Middle India, *Man in India* 25: 73-86). Cultural relations outside the subcontinent have been seen with regions as far away as Oman (Gupta, SP, 1970-71, Gulf of Oman: The original home of Indian Megaliths, *Puratattva* 4: 4-18) and Thailand (Loofs-Wissowa, HHE, 1985, Traces of the South Indian Megalithic in Thailand: A 'Dolmen' in 'Chedi' in U-Thong, pp. 497-500 in *Recent Advances in Indo-Pacific Prehistory*, eds. VN Misra and P Bellwood, Oxford and IBH). For an up-to-date review, see Deo, SB, 1985, The Megaliths: Their culture, ecology, economy and technology, pp. 89-99 in *Recent Advances in Indian Archaeology: Proceedings of the Seminar held in Poona in 1983*, eds., SB Deo and K Paddayya, Poona, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute)." Possehl, Gregory L. and Gullapalli, Praveena, 1999,The Early Iron Age in South Asia A , In Pigott, Vincent, editor, *The Archaeometallurgy of the Asian Old World*. University Museum Monograph 89, MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology Volume 16, Philadelphia:The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, pp. 153-175.



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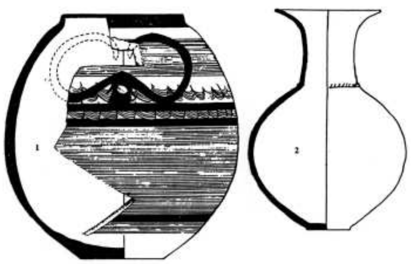
Burzahom (c. 1st half of 3rd millennium BCE): Neolithic scene, engraved on a stone slab. A stag is hunted with a spear, bow and arrow by two persons. The two suns may represent the rising and setting sun. Jhelum valley of Kahmir had the Neolithic sites with evidence of living-pits dug into the ground, with thatched roofs; the settlers used stone tools: axes, picks, awls, arrowheads, querns, pestles, cultivated wheat, barley, lentils and domestication of sheep and goat: Gufkral (c. 4th millennium BCE), 41 km. Southeast of Srinagar (Sharma, AK, 1982) and Burzahom, 16 km. Northwest of Srinagar (Khazanchi, 1976; Kaw, 1979; Saar, 1992).



Burzahom: Neolithic pottery. No. 1 wheel-made, orange-purple slip, black-painted horned person. is paralleled by pre-Harappan pottery of Kot Diji (Khan, 1965). Copper tools found at the site (knives, axes, spearheads, bangles) were also comparable with SSVC finds.

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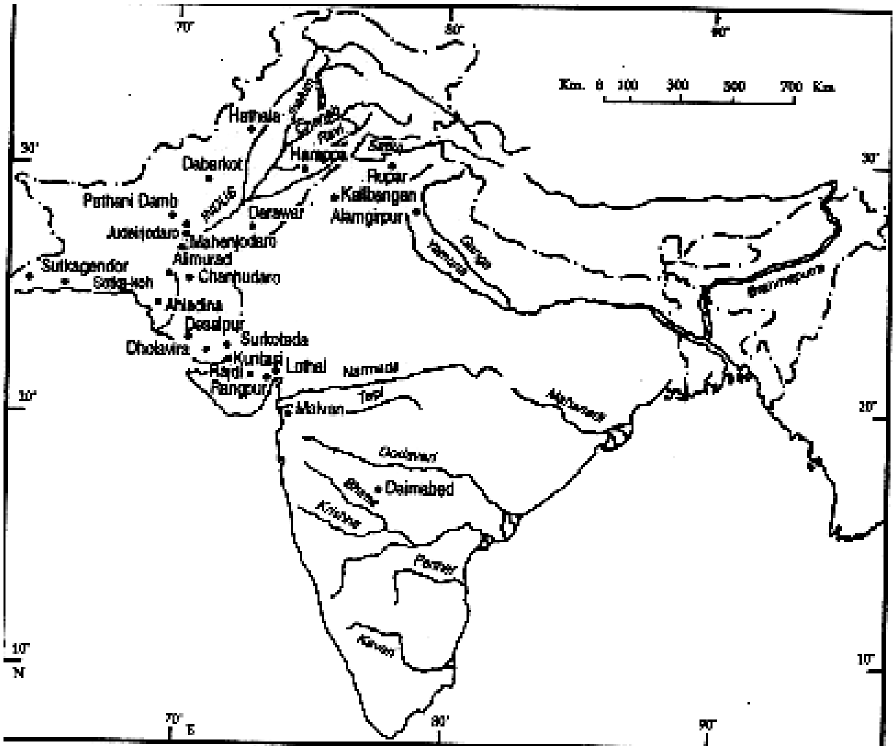
Evolution of traditions of the civilization



Sites of Sutkagendor (Mockler 1877, Stein 1931: 60-71, Dales 1962) and Sotka-Koh (Dales 1962: 91) are on the coastal strip of Makran linking the route to Baluchistan along the valleys of Dasht Kaur and Shadi Kaur, each of which had a fortified post: Sutkagendor and Sotka-Koh. Now the site of Sutkagendor lies about 30 miles away from the sea, at the eastern edge of the Dasht valley. Ca. 3000 BC, the site could have been closer to the coastline. Three sites on the Makran coast -- Sutkagendor, Sotka-koh and Khairia Kot -- are generally interpreted as ports in the maritime links with the Gulf and Mesopotamia, and can be generally reckoned as part of the region of 'Meluhha', often referred to in the Mesopotamian cuneiform texts. The discovery of an Omani sherd at Surkotada in the Kutch peninsula, strengthens this analysis. [cf. G.F. Dales, 1973, Archaeological and Radiocarbon Chronologies for Protohistoric South Asia, in: *South Asian Archaeology*, N. Hammond ed., London, Duckworth, pp. 157-70: 'miles of slag and furnaces' were found on the border of Afghanistan and Baluchistan attesting copper smelting as a major activity ca. 2000 BC]. Jarrige recovered bronze at Mehrgarh VIII-Sibri (Santoni, M. , 1984, Sibri and the South Cemetery of Mehrgarh, in: *South Asian Archaeology, 1981*, Ed. B. Allchin, Cambridge University Press, pp. 52-60).

As the River Sarasvati started desiccating with decreased run-offs, there was a marked movement of people upstream from Rann of Kutch area. This is clearly demonstrated as internal migration, by the clustering of sites along the river in Bahawalpur province (referred to as Cholistan), during early phase and late phase of the civilization.

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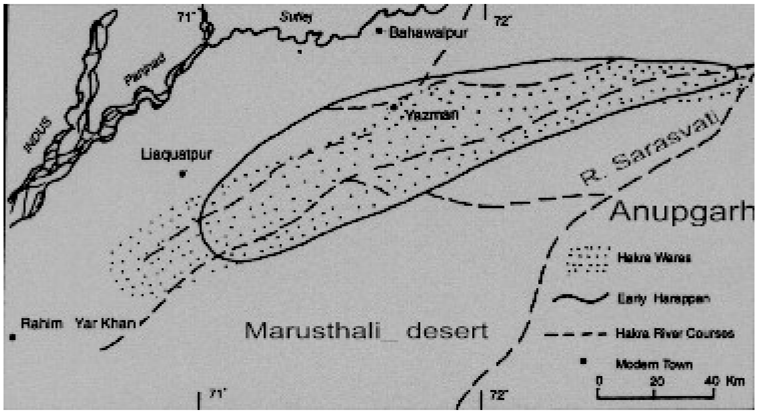
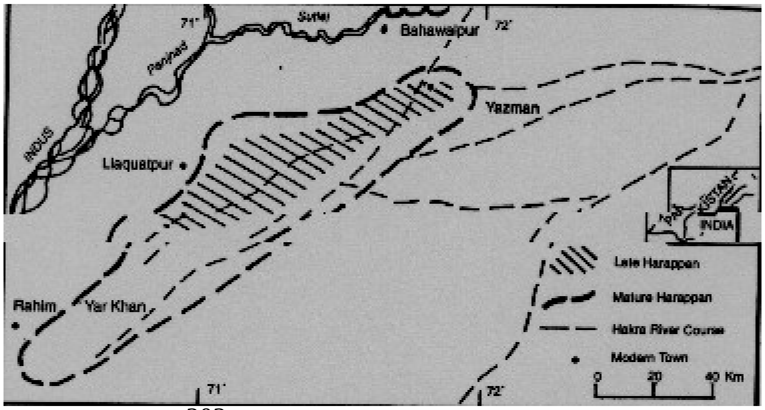
An area with Kot Dijian characteristics is the Gomal valley (the early Harappan site of Gumla: Dani 1970-71). Like Gumla, Rehman Dheri (Period 1B ca. 3000 BC) is located on an old terrace of the Sindhu. Circular ovens and/or rectangular hearths or fireplaces were found. The silos had barley and wheat. Kot Diji type of rimless and neckless ovoid jars were found. Also found was an ivory seal depicting two mountain gots with wavy horns and a few signs on one side, and two scorpions, one frog and one symbol on the other. Period II shows 'typical Kot Dijian type jar and Kot Diji-Sothi-type specimens'. Peacock and pipal leaf motifs and fish-scale motifs appear. "The occurrence of the Sothi ware, comparable in some details not only with the Zhob (Periano-Ghundai) but with Quetta and central Baluch industries, in the lowest levels at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, its abundance on practically all Harappan sites on the Sarasvati, the persistence of its traits in the Harappan pottery not only in the Sarasvati region but also at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, the co-existence of the Sothi and Harappan people at Kalibangan (KLB-2) and possibly also at Kot Diji--all this cannot be dismissed as accidental but on the contrary must have a bearing on the Harappan genesis. A firm Sothi substratum is obvious in the make-up of the Harappa--much firmer than that of the other earlier cultures. There is every justification for regarding the Sothi as 'proto-Harappan' " (Ghosh 1965). This hypothesis finds confirmation in Mughal's work in Cholistan (western part of the Great Indian Desert or Marusthali_).



Early phase site distribution area in Cholistan (After Mughal, 1992). The early Harappan sites are clustered around the course of the River Sarasvati (called Hakra in this region) flowing as an independent stream to join the Rann of Kutch; an earlier course is seen birfurcating at Anupgarh. Mughal reports 99 Hakra ware sites in Cholistan, mostly on mudflats and some on the fossilized sand dunes. These include 52 temporary occupation or camp sites, 45 settlement sites and 2 sites where industrial or craft-related activities are indicated by the presence of kilns. Only two of these sites were occupied in the succeeding early Harappan period and only four in the mature Harappan stage. Mughal links this distinct settlement shift to the change in the course of the Hakra (or River Sarasvati).



Late phase site distribution area in Cholistan (After Mughal, 1992). The Late harappan sites are clustered around the westerly course of the River Sarasvati, west of Yazman. It is seen that the Stream of River Sutlej, flowing south-east of Bahawalpur, joins this westerly course of River Sarasvati. Mughal notes a

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distinct increase in the number of sites during the mature Harappan period. Out of 174 sites, 79 sites had areas 'exclusively ear-marked for kilns and mass production of items'. Since there is no site in this area where the mature Harappan phase directly overlies the early Harappan one, Mughal infers that another hydrographic change (the Sutlej River course) necessitated 'relocation of settlements on new ground'.

"In the eastern portion of the Lower Indus Basin the Nara Nadi (extension of Hakra) was a perennial river whose course is known by different names along its length. From Fort Abbas to Fort Derawar it is known as the Hakra river, and is marked by a depressin which is clearly visible on the aerial photographs of the region. Southwest of Fort Derawar, the course of the Hakra becomes increasingly unclear and intermittently becomes 'lost' beneath sanddunes which have encroached upon the area. Remnants of the river's course emerge where dunes are less numerous and thus can be aligned with the Raini and Wahinda channels. South of these latter two channels, the Nara Nadi can be clearly traced as a depression southward along the eastern edge of the Lower Indus Basin, where it was eventually joined by the Sindhu Nadi. There can be little doubt that the coastline of the Lower Indus Basin during the fourth and third millennia was located a good distance north of the present-day location. Present research suggests that the delt of the Sindhu-Nara Nadi was located in the southeastern portion of the Lower Indus Basin. Through the centuries the delta slowly moved to the west and southwest, pushing the coastline to the south. During the prehistoric period the central and weestern portion of the Lower Indus Basin was probably a bay, with the coastline located somewhere north of Tatta and south of Hyderabad. Terrestrial Kutch probably consisted of an island or islands, and can be considered part of the Lower Indus Basin. The major ecological resources of the Lower Indus Basin were its perennial rivers with seasonally high, overbank floods and fertile alluvial soils." (Flam, 1981: 52-3).

This explains why more than fifteen sites have been found in the Kirthar piedmont and Kohistan, a number equal to that of the Sindhu-Nara interfluve in Sind province. This also explains why the site of Dholavira and Lothal are found in the Rann of Kutch and the Gulf of Khambat respectively. (The Nal depression links Dholavira through the Little Rann of Kutch with Lothal).

There are only three early Harappan sites between 73E and 74-30E in Rajasthan. A dense cluster of early Harappan sites is found only in Sangrur-Bhatinda in Indian Punjab and Jind-Hissar-Karnal-Gurgaon in Haryana. The typical sites are: Kalibangan in Rajasthan, Banawali and Kunal in Haryana and Mahorana in Punjab. In Kalibangan, B.B. Lal (1979) found backed and serrated blades of chalcedony and agate, together with copper axes and a type of weapon, called paras'u, still used in Rajasthan to cut scrubby bushes. Also found were copper, shell and terracotta bangles, beads made of shell, copper, agate and carnelian. At Kunal were found steatite, carnelian, agate, lapis lazuli and terracotta beads and bangles of terracotta, faience and shell. A steatite seal was found with a geometric design. Other finds were: chalcedony micro-blades, bone points, copper arrowheads and grinding stones.

Bhan (1973: 257) notes three 'metropolitan centres' -- Mitathal, Rakhigarhi, Banawali -- 'dominating respectively the Yamuna, Drishadvati and Sarasvati valleys'. It is unclear if Mitathal can be placed in the Yamuna valley, unless, of course, the line of the western Yamuna canal to the east of the modern flow of the Yamuna extends further to the southeast and represents an old course of the river. Banawali lies above the floodplain of the dried-up Sarasvati (locally called Rangoi) on her right-bank. The ancient course of the River Sarasvati, now known as the Sottar valley (about 2 to 4 km wide) runs through the districts of Jind, Hissar and Sirsa in Haryana before joining the Ghaggar River near the Haryana-Rajasthan border. Bisht notes that there are mounds on both its banks, the site of Banawali being on one such mound on the right-bank.

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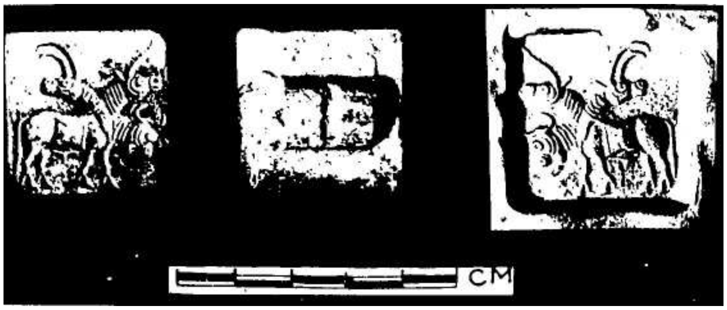

Amri. Seal. Mature Harappan period. [After J. Casal, Fouilles d'Amri, Paris, 1964]. A one-horned bull ligatured with the heads of an antelope and a short-horned bull. There is no inscription on this seal. Obviously the message is complete with just the ligatured form.

Image of a seated person on a tablet in bas relief found in Gulf of Khambat Cultural Complex

That the Gulf of Khambat Cultural Complex (GKCC), with early origins dated to ca. 9000 years Before Present, is a precursor of the Sarasvati Sindhu Valley Civilization is dramatically confirmed by a triangular tablet with an image engraved in bas relief.

Many finds which are characteristic of the so-called pre-Harappan artefacts include the finds such as: a bathing complex, structures of multi-storeyed buildings comparable to those found at Mohenjodaro, use of gabar bands to divert water from river channels -- a feature common along the River Sindhu in the Sind region--, triangular cakes, some triangular cakes with circles drilled in, long cylindrical and perforated stone beads and many types of semi-precious stone beads.

Image of a seated person often referred to as a yogic posture is a remarkable motif on some inscribed objects. The image is also depicted on tablets carved in bas-relief at Harappa as confirmed by the 1998 finds at Harappa by Kenoyer and Meadow.

Sarasvati Sindhu River Valleys and the Coastline of Meluhha

The geographical region of the Sindhu and Sarasvati river valleys extends from Baluchistan, to the foothills of the Siwalik ranges, spanning the deserts of Cholistan and Thar. The area covers the coastal regions of Makran, islands of theRann of Kutch, spanning the coastline of Meluhha across Saurashtra in Gujarat, India upto the Gulf of Khambat. Joshi, Bala, and Ram locate over 700 sites in India proper, noting that the Civilization encompassed "an area of 1.3 million sq. km…that instead of persisting with the older title, the Indus Civilization, we might as well call it the 'Sarasvati Civilization'

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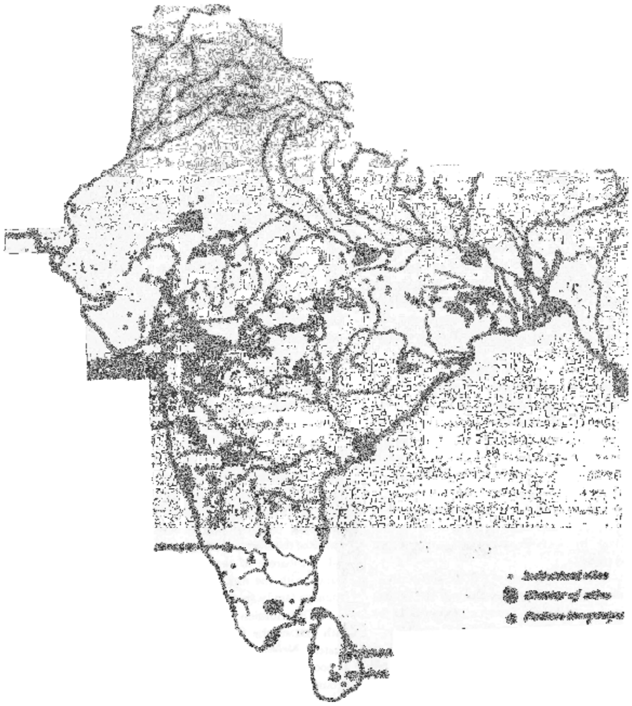
or 'Sarasvati Culture'" (Joshi et al. 1984: 511, 513).

Bet Dwaraka. Ring-stone found in marine archaeological explorations. This is similar to the ring-stones found in situ as structural support for buildings in Dholavira.

Cave Paintings

Homo Sapiens appeared - around 36,000 BCE.Upto 8000 BCE, the period is referred to as Palaeolithic Age (Old Stone Age) with the use of flaked stones as tools. From 8000 BCE - the end of the Ice Age to ca. 4000 BCE was the Mesolithic Age [Middle Stone Age] Hand-held stone tools such as axes and spears, were now tied to twigs with rope The tools were used to clear vegetation, heralding the commencement of plant cultivation. Some Mesolithic sites are: Chotanagpur in central India, Bhimbetka Caves near Bhopal and south of the river Krishna. Bhimbetka caves near Bhopal belong to the Mesolithic Age.Cave paintings depict animals, hunting scenes, and scenes from day-to-day life of the period. The estimate is that some paintings may date to circa 12,000 years BP.

Sites of neolithic cultures have been discovered in areas beyond the locus of the Sarasvati-Sindhu civilization, south of the Vindhyas in South India and beyond the Ganga-Yamuna doab in Eastern India. These cultures were contemporary with the Harappan civilization with indications of contact. One surmise is that the electrum used in the Harappan civilization came from Kolar, Karnataka in South India.



Microlithic sites in South Asia (according to Joseph E. Schwartzberg, ed., 1978, *A historical atlas of South Asia*, Chicago) and the areas in which the relic languages Naha_li, Irul.a and Rodiya are or were spoken. [After Parpola, 1994, fig. 8.9]

Region of the Nahali-speakers

Maheshwar, 90 kms. from Indore, is a town situated on the banks of the Narmada River, in Khargone district of the Indian State of Madhya Pradesh. Archaeological digs at Naodatodi, 2 kilometers away across the Narmada have unearthed remains dating from 2000 BCE.In classical periods, Maheshwar was known as Mahishmati or Mahisati, and later Avanti, the state capitol of Raja Bhoja. S'an:kara and Mand.ana Mis'ra (who was a poet in the court of Ma_his.mati) discuss the karma mi_ma_msa philosophy at Ma_his.mati, a place mentioned in both the Ra_ma_yan.a and the Maha_bha_rata. It was the capital city of Ka_rtavi_rarjuna (who killed Jamadagni); it was also the capital city of the Va_ka_t.aka-s (6th cent.) who built the cave-temples of Ellora. This is the ks.etra of Paras'urama, 'Rama of the axe', a Brahmin, born to the sage Jamadagni and his wife Renuka. This is also Bhr.gu ks.etra (cf. Bharuch on the mouth of Narmada river). In the Bhr.gu tradition, Vishnu's

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consort is Lakshmi, the godess of wealth and fortune. She is believed to have emerged from the samudra manthan, and considered to be the daughter of Bhr.gu and Khyati.

kha_n.d.ava vana: Explorations in the beds/tributaries of Narmada have revealed traces of the Paleolithic men in East Nimar district. Omkar Mandhata, a rocky island on the bank of Narmada river, about 47 miles North-West of Khandwa, is said to have been conquered by the Haihaya king Mahishmant, a scion of Yadu family, who had named the capital as Ma_his.mati. From the early 2nd Century BCE, to the 10 century CE, the Nimar Region (earlier a part of Kha_n.d.ava) was ruled by Mauryas, Sungas, Early Satvahanas, Kardamakas, Abhiras, Va_kat.akas, Guptas, Kalachuris, Vardhanas (of Harsha Vardhana fame), Chalukyas, Ra_s.t.raku_t.as, Paramaras. There is a group of ks.atriya known as somavam.s'i_ya sahasra_rjuna ks.atriya, claiming their lineage to Ra_jara_jes'vara Sahasra_rjuna ca. 2600 BCE. http://www.sskna.org/ssk_history.html Omkares'war is an island at the confluence of River Narmada and River Kaveri. [The same name 'ka_veri' is the name of the river which flows from Karna_t.aka through Tamilna_d.u].

Early traces of human existence in India are in the second interglacial period between 400,000 and 200,000 BC. A large number of primitive stone tools made by flaking and pointed on one end, found in the Soan Valley and in south India, around Chennai.

Neolithic Age [New Stone Age] from 4000 BCE to 2500 BCE was characterized by blades and burins which are very finely flaked, small stone tools.

Chalcolithic Age [with use of bronze and copper] from 1800 BCE to 1000 BCE cultures Brahmgiri (near Mysore) and Navada Toli on the Narmada.

Kile Ghul Mohammad in the Quetta Valley (Fairservis 1956) and Mehergarh at the base of the Bolan Pass on the Kachi Plain of the Indus valley connecting the Quetta Valley to the lowlands (Jarrige 1984) evidence cultural development from the seventh millennium BCE to mid-third millennium BCE.

Horse, *as'va* or pony with 34-ribs?

Hock observes that "no archaeological evidence from Harappan India has been presented that would indicate anything comparable to the cultural and religious significance of the horse (...) which can be observed in the traditions of the early IE peoples, including the Vedic Aryas. On balance, then, the 'equine' evidence at this point is more compatible with migration into India than with outward migration." (1999:13). He assumes, without evidence, that '*as'va*' means an *equus caballus* (i.e. the Arabian horse variety). He does not discuss the possibility of a pony variety such as an *equus sivalensis* with 34-ribs. B.B. Lal (1998:111) notes that true horse finds were reported form Surkotada, Rupnagar, Kalibangan, Lothal, Mohenjo-Daro, and terracotta images of the horse from Mohenjo-Daro and Nausharo, apart from bone fragments of onagers or half-asses. In the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex, which is surmised by some as the staging area for immigration into Bharat, there is no substantial 'horse' evidence. (Sergent 1997:161 ff.).

Horse is shown in Bhimbetka paintings attesting to the indigenous as'va, the pony or short-statured horse.

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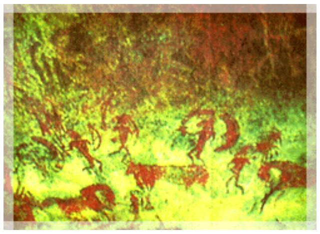
Domesticated horse shown on a painting in Cave no. 8 at Bhimbet.ka http://www.art-and-archaeology.com/india/ http://vm.kemsu.ru/en/mezolith/bhimpet.html 	 Horse depicted in a painting in Cave 4 at Bhimbetka 

Not far from the region is Bhimbet.ka, where 500 caves have pre-historic paintings showing many horses and also chariots (one pictorial motif is interpreted by H.D. Sankalia, as Kr.s.n.a wielding a cakra a_yudha (discus weapon). Horses or chariots are not imports from Central Asia into Bha_rata!

"Executed mainly in red and white with the occasional use of green and yellow, with themes taken from the everyday events of aeons ago, the scenes usually depict hunting, dancing, music, horse and elephant riders, animals fighting, honey collection, decoration of bodies, disguises, masking and household scenes. Animals such as bisons, tigers, lions, wild boar, elephants, antelopes, dogs, lizards, crocodiles etc. have been abundantly depicted in some caves. Popular religious and ritual symbols also occur frequently." http://www.meadev.nic.in/tourism/exotic/bh-mp.htm

"The Mesolithic in India may be 2-3 millennia older than in Eastern Europe and Middle Asia." http://www.bhopalnet.com/bhim.htm

Riverine facets

Harappa excavations of five seasons, between 1986 and 1990, have reinforced the basic, distinctive riverine facet of the civilization in the Sindhu-Sarasvati River Valleys. The reports cover a variety of topics: fish and fauna resources, organization of ceramic manufacture, and history of research at Harappa. Ronald Amundson and Elise Pendall discuss in "Pedology and Late Quarternary Environments Surrounding Harappa: A Review and Synthesis," "pertinent pedalogical, geological, and paleoenvironmental studies in the vicinity of Harappa". This comprises a study of meandering

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of the river Ravi, soils and geomorphology of Harappa site, and stable isotope studies. Jonathan Mark Kenoyer in "Urban Process in the Indus Tradition: A Preliminary Model from Harappa," constructs a chronological framework for the civilization into five time periods, using relative chronology and 33 radiocarbon samples which provide absolute dating. "Biological Adaptations and Affinities of Bronze Age Harappans," by Brian E. Hemphill, John R. Lukacs, and K.A.R. Kennedy elaborate on the decline of dental health, increased reliance on agriculture. (Richard H. Meadow, ed., *Harappa Excavations 1986-1990:A Multidisciplinary Approach to Third Millennium Urbanism,*Prehistory Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1991.)

Schaffer notes that "in the Indus Valley, a technically advanced, urban, literate culture was achieved without the usually associated social organization based on hereditary elites, centralized political government (states, empires) and warfare" (Schaffer 1982, 47). Many scholars have attributed many causes for the apparent decline of the Civilization in the mid-second millennium:

- Seasonal flooding of Mohenjo Daro and other sites in Sind (Dales 1966, Raikes 1965, Dales and Raikes 1977).
- Tectonic uplift along the Makran coast which landlocked many coastal settlements (Dales 1966).
- The "death from natural causes" of Kalibangan and other sites in the Yamuna river channel due to shifts in the river course (Raikes 1968).
- The desertification of Cholistan / Bahawalpur due to shifts in the Hakra River course (Mughal 1982, 1984).
- Climatic changes (Misra 1984).
- Ecological degradation (Gupta 1980).
- The sharp decrease in trade with Mesopotamia at the end of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur (Ghosh 1980).
- Societal evolution/devolution as a cultural process (Gupta 1980, Fairservis 1971 and 1979, Schaffer 1982).

Tectonic Uplift of the Coastline

Tectonic uplift on a grand scale is evident at seaports along the Makran coast, such as Sutkagendor, Sotka Koh, and Bala Kot; these sites are now about 50 km inland. "These displaced ports made it evident that the coastline of Pakistan had risen considerably during the past 4,000 years, with the initial rise apparently having occurred during the Harappan period" (Dales 1966: 95).

This uplift is accompanied by the incursion of the sea into the present-day Rann of Kutch resulting in the formation of the Rann and fusing of many islands, such as the Khadir island on which is situated Dholavira (Kotda), into the peninsula of Saurashtra. The resulting disruption of sea-trade networks would have disrupted many industrial activities (such as the s'ankha (turbinella pyrum) based on the marine resource and carnelian/agate beads from Gujarat-Rajasthan region) of the maritime-riverine civilization. The proximity to Arabian sea trade routes is surmised as the *raison d'etre* for sites such as Sutkagen Dor and Sutkha Koh.

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Civilization was at the mercy of water resources

At many sites, the civilization was at the mercy of fluctuations in the availability of water resources.

Raikes found the soil in Kalibangan, a "coarse greyish sand very similar in mineral content to that found in the bed of the present day Yamuna." (Raikes 1968: 286). Hydrological and archaeological investigations indicate an "alternating capture of the Yamuna by the Indus and Ganges systems respectively" (Raikes 1968: 286) Yamuna (or Drishadvati-Ghaggar) river tributaries of the River Sarasvati, switched back and forth between two primary river channels. Kalibangan was abandoned circa 18th century BCE perhaps due to the following changes in river channels:

> Westward diversion to Sindhu 2500-1750 BCE=750 years (coinciding with the Harappan period occupation).
> Eastward diversion to Ganga 1750-1100 BCE=650 years (coinciding with the abandonment of Harappan sites).
> Westward diversion to Sindhu 1100-500 BCE=600 years (coinciding with Painted Grey Ware sites).
> Eastward diversion to Ganga 500-100 BCE=400 years (coinciding with a period of abandonment).
> Westward diversion to Sindhu 100 BCE-500 CE=600 years (coinciding with the Early Historic period).
> Eastward diversion to Ganga in about 500 CE (coinciding with a period of abandonment).

"Archaeological evidence...overwhelmingly affirms that the Hakra was a perennial river through all its course in Bahawalpur during the fourth millennium BCE (Hakra Period) and the early third millennium BCE (Early Harappan Period). About the end of the second, or not later than the beginning of the first millennium BC, the entire course of the Hakra seems to have dried up and a physical environment similar to the present day in Cholistan set in. This forced the people to abandon most of the Hakra flood plain (Mughal 1982: 94)."

Mohammad Rafique Mughal has mapped 414 sites along 300 miles of the Hakra River bed in the Cholistan desert. This is incontrovertible evidence for a change in river course which decimated hundreds of civilization sites caused by creation of desert conditions which continue even day. While Ghaggar river courses switched back and forth, the Hakra changed its course almost permanently.

Climatic Change

Polynological evidence covering the entire Holocene period shows that climate change might also have been a factor in the movement of people away from the Sarasvati River basin.

"In sum, the enormous volume of archaeological evidence now available from northwest India completely fails to sustain the overall hypothesis proposed by Gurdip Singh that fluctuations in rainfall played a decisive role in the emergence, diffusion, prosperity and decline of farming-based cultures in the region. The only role the increased rainfall played was to arrest the hyperaridity of the Upper Pleistocene, stabilize the sand dunes, accelerate the growth of vegetation and help in the emergence and spread of a nomadic hunting-gathering-pastoral economy. This pattern of life has persisted in the semi-arid and arid environments to this day (Misra 1984: 484)."

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Cultural Continuity

"If you seek a legacy, look about you," the Allchins rightly noted (Allchin and Allchin 1982: 333). Fairservis (1979: 302) stated it succinctly when he noted that "the answer to the question as to why the Harappan Civilization fell is that it didn't fall at all! It simply stood at the beginning of the mainstream of Indian culture and faded into that current, having brought to it acts of faith, class morality, aspects of technology, and perhaps a cosmology which heralded the eventual supreme achievement that was medieval India."

Mohenjodaro declined in size (34 acres to one acre); similar transformations are recorded at: Altin Depe (114 to 3 acres), Namazga Depe (170 to 3.5 acres), and Shahr-i Sokhta (32 to 2 acres). This shrinkage in size of urban settlements leads Fairservis to observe: "the Harappan Civilization can thus be said to have 'faded away' rather than to have been extinguished completely" (Fairservis 1971: 310). An occupation level called Cemetery H Culture, at Harappa was excavated by Vats and Wheeler, during 1929-1931 and 1946, respectively (Vats 1940, Wheeler 1947). Between two different strata of burials, the lower stratum burials are comparable to standard Harappan burials: extended, with typical pottery assemblages. The upper stratum burials contain fractional urn burials. Both strata revealed pottery types widely divergent from the Harappan style. Sankalia surmises that the H people "culturally and racially do not seem to be far different from the Harappans," (Sankalia 1979: 326). Two clusters are found: 2000-1600 BCE in the eastern Punjab and 1600-1300 BCE in the Swat Valley. Schaffer concludes that "the two urban periods belong to a single cultural tradition, given the stratigraphic and chronological continuities" (Schaffer 1988). Thus, there are clear indicators of cultural continuity. Bullock carts of the type shown by Mohenjodaro toy carts continue to be used even to the present day. Cultural practices are more enduring: "in economic and social relations, in religious beliefs and ideology, an important part of the Harappan legacy is likely to be most strongly evident in later Indian culture." (Allchin and Allchin 1982: 329). Typical instances are the wearing of the sindhu in the parting of the hair and the wearing of s'ankha bangles, both practices attested over 5,000 years ago.

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Myth of Aryan Invasion exploded; expeditions in search of mineral ores and metals: Copper Hoards

Map of finds of coper and bronze objects: Western group; doab 'copper hoards'; eastern group; and peninsular group. [After Fig. 9.19 in: FR Allchin, 1995, *The archaeology of early historical south Asia: the emergence of cities and states*, Cambridge University Press].

Bronze head of ibex. Iranian. C. 600-500 BCE. Ht. 14 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Copper Hoard culture artifacts: a. antennae hilted sword; 2. anthropomorph; 3. harpoon. [After Fig. 6.1 in DP Agrawal, 2000].

Caches of finds in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh yielded tools of various types: rings, flat and shouldered celts, trunnion axes, anthropomorphs, swords, double-edged axes, harpoons, socketed axes. Piggott identified these hoards with Harappan refugees. Heine Geldern (1936: 87-88) theorized that the trunnion axe came from Transcaucasia via Persia in c. 1200-1000 BCE. Originating from the Danubian region, the axe-adze also reached India via Iran in c. 1200-1000 BCE and the antennae swords were influenced by the Koban examples dateable to c. 1200-1000 BCE. BB Lal showed that the trunnion axes, the Fort Monroe sword, the socketed axe and axe-adze never occurred in the doab but were confined ot the north-western part of the

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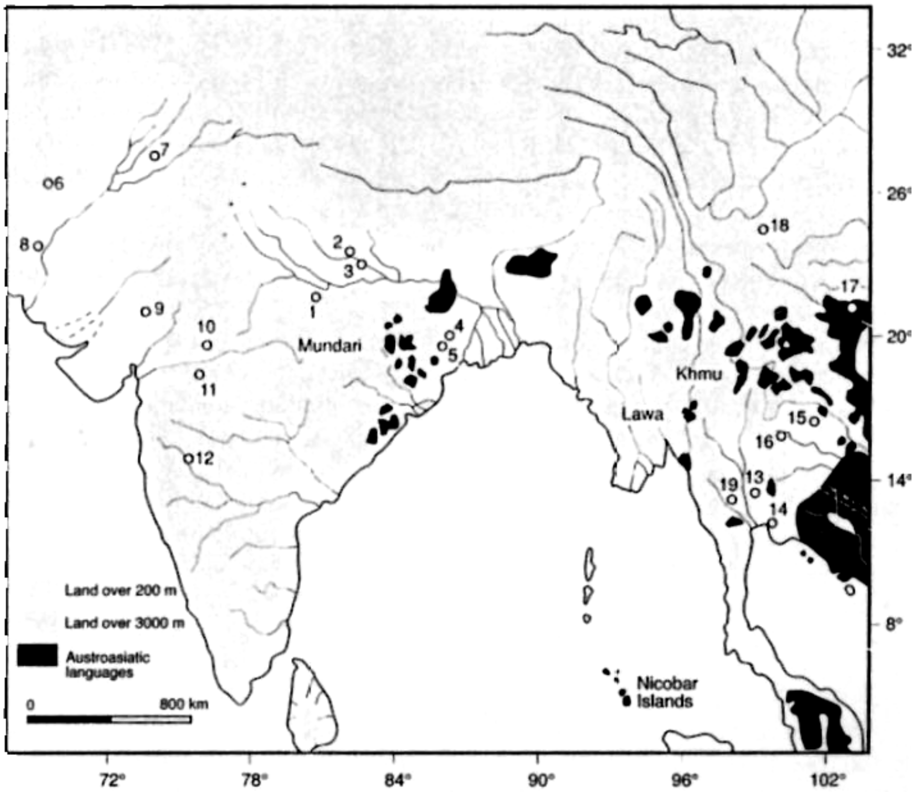
subcontinent. As a corollary, he showed that the harpoon, the bracelet and the anthropomorph were never found west of the doab. He also noted that the antennae swords of the doab were cast as a single piece, unlike the Koban specimens. Socketed axes and adzes reported from Chanhu-daro, Mohenjodaro and even from Mundigak Period III, are found in much earlier contexts than c. 1200-1000 BCE claimed by Heine Geldern. It is, therefore, clear that the relationships and migrations suggested by Heine Geldern are not tenable. [BB Lal, 1951, Further copper hoards from the Ganga valley and a review of the problems, *Ancient India* 7: 20-39; DP Agrawal, 1982, *The Archaeology of India*, London, Curzon Press.].

Bronze Age in eastern Bha_rata and interactions with SSVC



Bronze Age sites of eastern Bha_rata and neighbouring areas: 1. Koldihwa; 2. Khairadih; 3. Chirand; 4. Mahisadal; 5. Pandu Rajar Dhibi; 6. Mehrgarh; 7. Harappa; 8. Mohenjo-daro; 9. Ahar; 10. Kayatha; 11. Navdatoli; 12. Inamgaon; 13. Non Pa Wai; 14. Nong Nor; 15. Ban Na Di and Ban Chiang; 16. Non Nok Tha; 17. Thanh Den; 18. Shizhaishan; 19. Ban Don Ta Phet [After Fig. 8.1 in: Charles Higham, 1996, *The Bronze Age of Southeast Asia*, Cambridge University Press].

“Copper and bronze were widely employed in Pakistan and Central India by 2000 BCE.During the second half of the second millennium BCE, a bronze industry was established in eastern India, in areas now occupied by the speakers of Munda languages…Were it not for the presence of Austroasiatic languages of some considerable time depth, it could easily be concluded that the Indian and Southeast Asian bronze traditions were separate. A shared cognate for copper-bronze beteen Munda, Khmer and Old Mon leaves the nagging feeling that there was some link between metallurgical traditions in the two areas.” (Higham, 1996, pp. 294-197).

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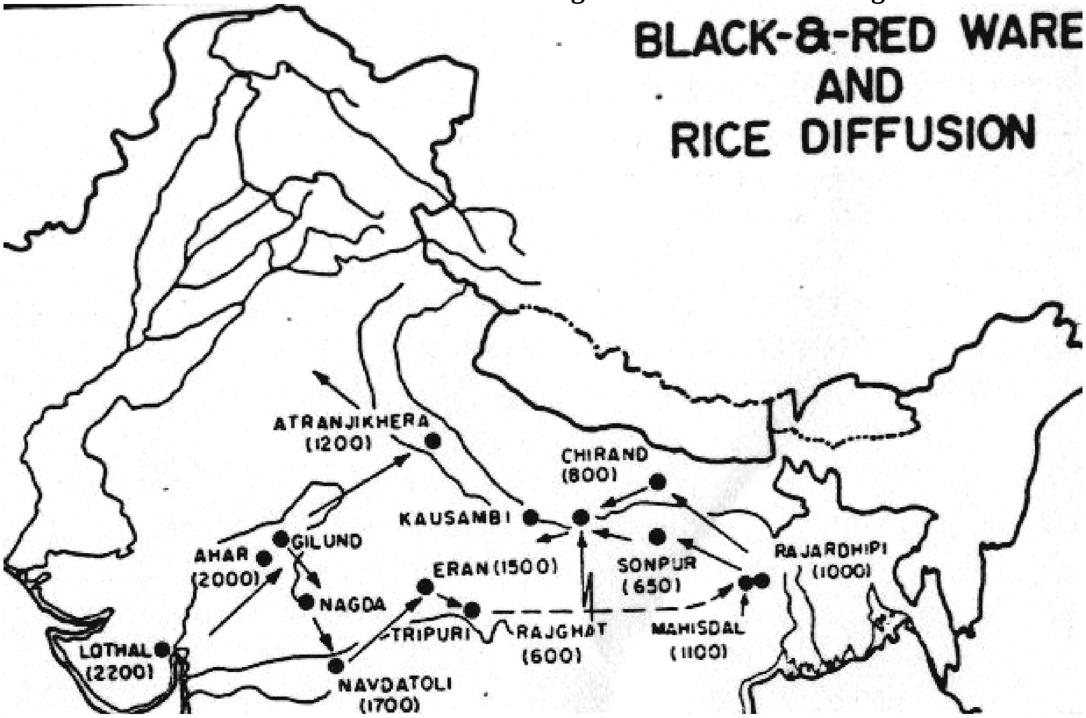
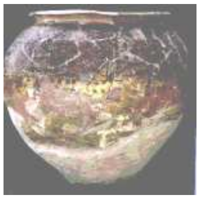
This analysis does not take into account the diffusion of black and red ware from Lothal area towards the eastern Bha_rata along the sites associated with copper hoard culture.

Black and Red ware and Diffusion of Rice: Indigenous Evolution and Migrations



Map showing the probably diffusion of the black-and-red ware techniques and rice cultivation, based on C-14 dates (given in brackets). The earliest appearance of the Black and Red ware is in Lothal (2200 BC) and next comes Ahar (2000 BC). The settlement evidence of this chalcolithic culture and the continuity of the vedic traditions in all parts of India indicate an indigenous development of the civilization from ca. 3000 BCE to 650 BCE (Sonpur).



Black on red ware, Khiplewala, Bahawalpur province; Mughal, M.R., 1997, *Ancient Cholistan*, Pl.58

The chronological sequence of Black-and-red ware in Bharat is as follows: Gujarat (2400 to 800 BCE), South Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh (2000 to 800 BCE), Bihar and Bengal (1600 to 800 BCE), Punjab and North Rajasthan (1000 BCE), Maharashtra and North Mysore (1700 to 600 BCE). (KM Srivastava, *Community movements in pre-historic India*, Delhi, 1971, pp. 17-41).

Ca.2000 BC, there were movements of people in search of minerals and metals. From Meluhha, there were copper mining and smelting expeditions to Oman. At Namazga IV-V (Turkmenia), a number of alloys were experimented with. (Kohl, P., 1984, *Central Asia: palaeolithic beginnings to the Iron age*, Paris, Editions Recherchedes Civilisations, p. 113, 169; Harappan artefacts are found at Altyn-depe in the latest levels; the suggestion is that 'contact was strongest on the eve of the collapse of the site'). At Hissar were found arsenic-bronze, lead-bronze, lead, silver and gold. (Tepe

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Hissar III, 3rd millennium BCE.: a seal shows a four-spoke wheel). Jarrige reports the find of a vented furnace at Sibri. On the Baluchistan and Afghanistan border, Dales found 'miles of slag and furnaces' (Dales, G.F., 1973, Archaeological and Radioactive chronologies for protohistoric south Asia, in: *South Asian Archaeology*, N. Hammond ed., London, Duckworth, p. 167).

Thirty-seven skeletons found in a state of unplanned interment at Mohenjo Daro were cited as evidence of a massacre by the Aryans (Wheeler 1968). Dales and others have shown that based on stratigraphic location of these skeletons in the residential area, the "victims" were Post-Harappan squatters. A full seven feet of debris separated the "victims" from occupation levels (Dales 1964). More substantively, detailed skeletal analyses have established that the "victims" were biologically different from the 'Harappan settlers'.

> "Where are the burned fortresses, the arrowheads, weapons, pieces of armor, the smashed chariots and bodies of the invaders and defenders? Despite the extensive excavations at the largest Harappan sites, there is not a single bit of evidence that can be brought forth as unconditional proof of an armed conquest and destruction on the supposed scale of the Aryan invasion (Dales 1964: 38)."

Mud brick "defenses enclosing the citadel" area of Harappa were necessitated by environmental factors and did not represent 'military defensive' structures. Five or more layers of silt found have been found between levels of Mature Harappan settlements at Mohenjo Daro which would have occurred due to still water conditions, and hence the need for mud-brick platforms to organize settlements dry above the inundation waters.

Evidence cited as armour were "small domed pieces of copper, each perforated with two holes, were sewn on to a garment and used as an equivalent to mail" (Srivastava 1984: 131). Wheeler interpreted clay nodules as "baked clay missiles" (Wheeler 1968: 76) but clay nodules were simply used as packing material while baking pottery on fire-pits as demonstrated in situ by the discoveries of over 400 'industrial sites' in Cholistan desert by Mohammad Rafique Mughal. No horse remains, no chariot remains and no weaponry of 'Aryan' marauders have been found. In short, there was no warfare which could explain the desiccation of the settlements by invaders or people equipped with 'superior' technology.

The theory of Aryan invasions spelling the death-knell of the Civilization can be dismissed as purely myth-making.

Bhr.gu, va_run.i, son of Varun.a: Provenance of Bhr.gu: Gulf of Khambat

The Narmada one of the biggest and holiest river along with the only tributary, the Karjan, meets the sea, about 16km from Broach.

Bhr.gu: Fire-priest, chariot-maker, warrior

Bhr.gu and Bha_rgava are fire-priests, also warriors. Atharvan and A_n:giras are likened to two eyes of Bhr.gu: atharva_n.as'ca ho va_ a_n:gi_rasas'ca bhr.gu caks.us.i_ tad brahma_bhivyapas'yastad ya_nanvayam va_ idam sarvam yad bhr.guva_n:girasa iti (Gopatha Br. 1.2.22). They are the founders of 'om' (GBr. 1.1.28). While Bhr.gu and A_ditya-s came out of the

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flames of the semen of Praja_pati, the A_n:girasa-s came out of the coals and out of the re-kindled 'coals' came Br.haspati. Out of the coal dust other animals were produced (AitBr. 3.34). A variant version occurs in the Maha_bha_rata (Anus'a_sana Parvan 85): One who arose from the flames of fire (Bhr.) was called Bhr.gu; another came out of the burning charcoal (an:ga_ra), he was called An:girasa; the third originated from the extinguished charcoal (an:ga_rasam.s'raya_t) and was called Kavi:

bhr.gityeva bhr.guh pu_rvaman:ga_rebhyo' n:gira_bhavat; an:ga_rasams'raya_ccaiva Kaviriyaparo' bhavat; saha jva_la_bhirutpanno bhr.gustasma_d bhr.guh smr.tah (15-16). So, it that Kavi-s in the Iranian tradition, described as the lineage of the Kayanides, are described as 'smiths'.

Bhr.gu, the reformer was held in such a high esteem, that Kr.s.n.a refers to himselve as 'mahar.s.i_n.a_m bhr.gur aham' (MBh. 6.32.25).

Bha_rgava and the critical edition of the Bha_rata which became Maha_bha_rata

VS Sukthankar, in an epoch-making study which led to the build-up of the critical edition of the Maha_bha_rata, noted that Bha_rata legends were interwoven with later interpolations of Bhr.gu exploits and Bha_rgava legends. (VS Sukthankar, 1936, Epic Studies VI: The Bhr.gus and the Bha_rata: A text--historical study', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVIII (1936-37), pp. 1-76). Thus, Bha_rgava-s enlarged the earlier version of Bha_rata into Maha_bha_rata.

Bha_rgava in the Ra_ma_yan.a

In Va_lmi_ki Ra_ma_yan.a, there is a reference to Bha_rgava Us'anas (6.4.42). It is noted that many references to Bha_rgava in Ba_laka_n.da and Uttaraka_n.d.a have been added by Bha_rgavas (N.J. Shende, The authorship of the Ra_ma_yan.a, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, 12, 1943, pp. 19-24). Ra_ma's encounter with Bha_rgava Ra_ma who became angry with him for breaking S'iva's bow is reported. Ra_ma accepted his challenge and defeated him. Since Ra_ma could not retrieve the arrow from the bow, he released it and blacked his course to the other world, as requestex by him (1, 73-5).

Sagara, of Bhr.gu lineage

Another episode relates to King Asita, who dwelt at Bhr.gu Pras'ravan.a, a holy bathing place. Ka_lindi, one of his two wives, was poisoned by her co-wife. She approached Bha_rgava Cyavana, who blessed her and told her that she would give birth to a son, who will become a king. Her son was the great King Sagara, after whom an ocean is called Sagara (2.102, 13-18). Another version about Sagara appears in other Pura_n.a-s: When King Asita (Ba_hu or Suba_hu), the king of Ayodhya_ was oppressed and defeated by his enemy, the King of Ma_his.mati_ (of the Hehaya line of rulers), Ya_davi_, his consort, was pregnant. Jealous co-wives poisoned her; the poison affected the child in the womb. Accompanied by his consort Ya_davi_, he entered the forest. There Ba_hu died. While Ya_davi_ was preparing to accompany her husband in death, sage Aurva stopped her because she was soon to deliver a child. She gave birth to Sagara in his hermitage. Aurva called the child, 'sagara' meaning one with 'gara' (poison) in him. (Brahma_n.d.aPura_n.a Chapters 16,17). Aurva took care of the child and taught him the Veda and S'a_stra; he also taught him the fire

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missile, a_gneya_stra. Sagara avenged on the Haihayas and other enemies with his proficiency in war. (Harivam.s'a 761; Brahma_n.d.a 2.63.121; Va_yu 88.123). All the Bha_rgava r.s.i-s together once stayed in the a_s'rama of Aurva. Paras'ura_ma visited the a_s'rama one day during that time and paid respects to Bhr.gu, Khya_ti, wife of Bhr.gu, Cyavana, son of Bhr.gu and Aurva, son of Cyavana (Brahma_n.d.a Pura_n.a Chapter 63). Another legend about Aurva refers to the fire born of his anger which he casts into the sea, as directed by the ancestors. His wrath takes the form of a great horse-head (vad.ava_mukha) and dwells in the ocean which vomits forth that fire and drinks the waters, the source of the world: **manyujo' gnirdahanna_po loka_ hya_pomaya_h smr.tah** (MBh. 1.171.19). This vad.ava_gni is carried by River Sarasvati_ and is a metaphor used to describe the transmission of fire-worship from the Sarasvati_ river basin towards the Gan:ga_-Yamuna_ doab, as people migrated eastwards after the desiccation of the River Sarasvati_ caused by tectonic upheavals (plate tectonics).

Association of Bhr.gu with Dan.d.aka_ran.ya

Bha_rgava Cyavana informs Ra_ma about the oppression of ascetics by Asura Lavan.a. Ra_ma asks S'atrughna to conquer the asura (7.53,54). S'atrughna makes a night halt on the way to Va_lmi_ki's a_s'rama; there Cyavana recounts to him the valour of Lavan.a and S'ula asura (7.59). S'atrughna kills Lavan.a and establishes the city of Madhura (7.60-62). Another Bha_rgava legend of Dan.d.a (7.70-73) relates to the origin of Dan.d.aka_ran.ya. The last of the hundred sons of Iks.va_ku was Dan.d.a. Iks.va_ku while dividing his kingdom, gave to Dan.d.a the region between Vindhyas and S'arvala (Panna) ranges. Dan.d.a misbehaved with Araja, the daughter of his royal priest Us'anas. The sage cursed him and his kingdom was burnt to ashes and the region was turned into a forest known as Dan.d.aka_ran.ya.

Bha_rgava Ra_ma

In the Maha_bha_rata, in Vis'va_mitropakhya_na (13.4), there is an episode. It explains how as a result of the exchange of carus (magic portions), Vis'va_mitra became a brahman.a and Bha_rgava Ra_ma became a mighty warrior. Ka_rtavi_ryopa_khya_na (3.115-117) adds about the birth of Bha_rgava Ra_ma and Sukanyopa_khya_na (3.122-125) relates the marriage of Cyavana with King S'arya_ti's daughter Sukanya_. A_diparva (Adhya_ya 60) provides a genealogy of Bha_rgava-s: Cyavana, Aurva, Rucika, Jamagani, Bha_rgava Ra_ma, Ruru. Jamadagni is stated to have been present in the court of Ra_ma (u, 1-5). It is also noted that Bha_rgava Us'anas officiated as a priest at the seven sacrifices performed by Indrajit, son of Ra_van.a (7.25, 6.10). Ra_ma, the seer of the su_kta RV 10.110 is known as the son of Jamadagni; the Sarva_nukraman.i_ refers to him as Paras'ura_ma. Descendants of Aurva are known as Ja_madagnya-s. Bha_rgava Kavi (author of RV 9.47-9 and 75-79) is the father of Us'ana_ Ka_vya. Bha_rgava It.a is the seer of su_kta RV 10.171 (Sa_yan.a: bhr.gu putrasya it.asya a_rsam ga_yatram aindram). Thus the lineage of Bhr.gu can be traced to Varun.a and his descendants are: Cyavana, It.a, Kavi (father of Us'anas) and Jamadagni (father of Paras'ura_ma).

Us'anas Ka_vya, a Bhr.gu

Us'anas Ka_vya ia priest (V 1.51.10; 83.5; 121.12; 4.16.2; 6.20.11; 8.23.17; 9.87.3; 97.7; 10.40.7; cf. 1.130.9; 5.31.8; 34.2; 8.7.26; 10.22.6; AV 4.29.6). He is often associated with Kutsa and Indra. He is the Purohita of the Asura-s. A variant of the name is Kavi Us'anas. (RV 4.26.1; Pan~cavim.s'a Br. 14.12.5; Jaimini_ya Up. Br. 2.7.2.6). S'ukra, preceptor of the asura-s had another name, Ka_vya;

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ka_vya meant, 'the son of Kavi'. S'ukra's mother is referred to as 'ka_vyama_ta_'. S'ukra is one of the seven sons born to Bhr.gu and Puloma_; possibly, 'kavi' was another name of Bhr.gu, just as 'us'anas' was another name for S'ukra. (Vettam Mani, 1975, *Pura_n.ic Encyclopaedia*, p. 760).

Gr.tsamada, a Bhr.gu praises Sarasvati_ as mother, river and godess
Bha_rgava is a descendant of Bhr.gu (S'Br. 4.1.5.1; AitBr. 8.21); Cyavana is a Bha_rgava (Kaus.i_taki Br. 22.4); Gr.tsamada is also a Bhr.gu (TS 1.8.18.1; S'A_r. 7.15; AitBr. 8.2.1.5; Pras'na Up. 1.1; Pan~cavim.s'a Br. 12.2.23; 9.29.39). Gr.tsamada is the r.s.i who sings the praise of Sarasvati_: ambitame, nadi_tame, devitame Sarasvati_...

Bhr.gava_n.a is the name of a person who is called S'obha (RV 1.120.5). The term is also used as an epithet of Agni in an apparent allusion to the Bhr.gu-s.

In the tradition of Bha_rata, Jamadagni and Gr.tsamada are referred to as belonging to the Bhr.gu family. The author of RV su_kta 9.65 is Bhr.gu with Jamadagni. Mathita, the son of Yama and Cyavana are mentioned with Bhr.gu as the co-authors of RV su_kta 10.19. Many mantra-s of Sa_maveda are also attributed to Va_run.i Bhr.gu and Jamadagni (SV 469, 480, 498, 503; 784-86, 803-5, 833-35, 994-96, 1137-39, 1163-65). Bhr.gu is referred to as the composer of many Atharvaveda hymns. (AV 3.13; 3.24-25; 4.9; 4.14; 6.27-29; 6.122-123; 7.16-18; 7.57; 7.89; 7.112-113; 7.115; 9.5; 12.2; 19.32-33; 19.44-45; 19.53-55).

Bhr.gu, son of Varun.a

Bhr.gu is the son of Varun.a (S'Br. 11.6.1.1; T.Ar. 9.1; Nirukta 3.17). He has the patronymic Va_run.i. (ABr. 3.34; TBr. 1.8.2.5). Bhr.gu-s used in plural refer to the priests of fire. (RV 1.58.6; 127.7; 143.4; 2.4.2; 3.2.4; 4.7.1). RV 3.5.10 refers to the fire brought to the Bhr.gu-s by Ma_taris'van. Ma_taris'van is related to Agni; he is said to have brought Agni from heaven: ya_m ma_taris'va_ manave para_va_to deva_m bha_h parava_tah (RV 1.128.2); Ma_taris'va_n is described as Bhr.gu-lik (Bhr.gava_n.a) and is said to have produced Agni by friction: yad im anu pradiva madhva adhave guha_ santam ma_taris'va_ mathayati (RV 1.71.4) and established it for mankind (RV 1.148.1). Ma_taris'va_n acts as the messenger of Vivasva_n who kindled Agni and brought it to Bhr.gu. (RV 1.60.1; 3.5.10). They are referred to collectively in RV 1.60.1. They (perhaps with R.bhu-s) were chariot-makers (RV 4.16.20; 10.39.14). Sa_yn.a explains RV 4.16.20: bhr.gavo na ratham 'bhr.gavah dipta_h taks.a_n.ah ratham kurvanti tadvata, i.e. Bhr.gus were chariot builders and representatives of a class of craftsmen who were highly respected like another craftsman,t he blacksmith. Sa_yan.a adds on RV 10.39.14: karmayoga_d r.bhavo bhr.gava ucyante athava_ rathaka_ra_h bhr.gavah. Thus, it is reasonable to conjecture that Bhr.gu were craftsmen, workers of wood who had discovered fire by friction. (cf. *Encyclopaedif or Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, pp. 558-60). Aurva-s and Bhr.gu-s are referred to as a historic family, perhaps as warriors (RV 7.18.6; 8.3.9; 6.18; 8.102.4; AitBr. 6.33; Kaus.i_taki Br. 30.5).

Brahma_ appointed Varun.a as the guardian of the western zone. All deva-s anointed him as the King of the Waters (MBh. S'alya Parva, Chapter 47). The image of Varun.a should be dedicated in temples as sitting on a horned shark with a rope in hand (Agni Pura_n.a, Chapter 51). R.gveda notes that Varun.a and Mitra are the deities of rain. (RV 1.2).

Bhr.gu as warriors, as priests and as chariot-makers

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Bhr.gu-s appear (perhaps as warriors) together with the Druhyu-s in the battle of the ten kings. (RV 7.18.6; 8.3.9; 6.18; 102.4; 9.101.13). The battle was fought on River Parus.n.i_ (Ravi). Bharata-s and Tr.tsu-s were led by Suda_s directed by Vasis.t.ha as priest. Opponents were Anu, Druhyu, Puru, Turvas'u, Yadu, Paktha, Bhala_na, Alina, Vis.a_n.in, S'iva, Simyu and Vaikarn.a. Bhr.gu (perhaps as priests) with Druhyu fought against Suda_sa (RV 7.18.6). Bhr.gu are also associated with Yati and Praskan.va (RV 8.3.9; AV 20.9.3; AV 20.49.6).

Pan~cavim.s'a Br. refers to Cyavana as a chanter of Sa_mans (13.5.12; 19.3.6; 14.6.10; 11.8.11). S'Br. refers to Cyavana either as a Bha_rgava or an A_n:girasa (S'Br. 4.1.5.1). Cyavana or Cya_vana (Nirukta 4.19) is depicted as a decrepit person, a husband of maidens, who was restored to youth and strength by the As'vin-s and thus making him acceptable to his wife. (RV 1.116.10; 117.13; 118.6; 5.74.5; 7.68.6; 71.5; 10.39.4). A legend alludes to him as specially connected with the As'vin-s and opposed to the Paktha prince Tu_rvaya_n.a, an Indra worshipper (RV 10.61.1-3). S'Br. provides another account: Cyavana is wedded to Sukanya_, daughter of S'a_rya_ta. Called here a Bhr.gu or A_n:girasa, he is rejuvenated by immersion in a pond. (S'Br. 4.1.5.1). The inauguration of S'a_rya_ta is consecrated by Cyavana with the great Indra consecration (aindren.a maha_bhis.eken.a).

Bhr.gu and association with Atharvan and A_n:girasa, all fire-priests

Bhr.gu are associated with An:giras and Atharvan.a. (TS 1.1.7.1; MS 1.1.8; VS 1.18; TBr. 1.1.4.8; 3.2.7.6; S'Br. 1.2.1.13; RV 8.35.3; 43.13; 10.14.6). Aitas'a_yana are of the Bhr.gu family (Kaus.i_taki Br. 30.5). Bhr.gu officiate as priests for Agnistha_pana (TS 4.6.5.2; 5.6.8.6; AV 4.14.5; MS 1.4.1) and Das'a_peyakratu .(TS 1.8.18; TBr. 1.8.2.5; PBr. 18.9.2). Jaimini_ya Bra_hman.a (2.201) cites a legend: when Varun.a was consecrated with sixteen kinds of water, lustre (bharga) from his body departed and was divided into four parts. Out of these four parts of Varun.a's lustre, Bhr.gu, Sarasvati_, the Das'a_peya sacrifice and S'ra_yanti_ya (Sa_man) were born.

Provenance of the Bhr.gu-s

"A. Padmanabhayya (Ancient Bhr.gus, 1931, *Journal of the Oriental Research* Vol. V, Part I and II, pp. 55-100) suggests a theory that Bhr.gu-s represented 'all the South Indian races'. He identifies four dvi_pa-s (Plaks.a, Kus'a, S'a_lmali and Kraun~ca), out of seven mentioned in the Pura_n.a-s. Padmanabhayya 'identified Kus'a Dvi_pa with the modern province of Kuzista_n on the Persian Gulf and the Plaks.a Dvi_pa with the western portion of modern Persia, to the North of Kuzista_n as far as the middle of Trans-Caucasian country. From these two Dvi_pas the Bhr.gus dispersed in various directions to S'a_lamli Dvi_pa (a part of Babylonia) and Kraun~ca Dvi_pa, i.e. Maeonia (Algeria, Morokko, all Europe except Russia etc.). In this context he has tried to take note of the history and culture of Greece, Babylon etc. and established how they migrated to South India through the west coast. And the Bhr.gus may be said to represent all the South Indian races under the common designation of Agnikulas, which consisted of S'a_tava_hanas, the Va_ka_t.akas, the Kohls, the Iks.va_kus, the Na_gas, the Kadambas, the Pallavas, the Colas, the Pa_n.d.yas, the Keralas and the Ca_lukyas...In this regard the observation of Herman Weller (1937, Who were the Bhr.guids' ABORI, Vol. XVIII, Part III, pp. 296-302), is worth recording. By taking into consideration the religious condition of India before the invasion of Greeks and the significant role of Bhr.gus in the Vedas and the Maha_bha_rata, especially taking note of the Kr.s.n.a myth, the saga of Paras'ura_ma etc., he has come to the conclusion that the ancient Bhr.gus were no other than the Pre-Aryan Indids (Dravidians). In the hoary past these 'Ancient Indid people were in possession

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of India, having overcome the autochthons and compelled them to retreat into the wilderness.' Thus he has tried to establish the immigration of Bhr.gus into south India and their identification with the Pre-Aryan Indids. But their original abode is not specified." (Jayanti Panda, 1983, Bhr.gus, a Study, Delhi, BR Publishing Corpn., p. 172).

In another excursus, V.G. Rahurkar, after studying Vedic and post-vedic literature, concludes, 'Their (Bhr.gus') original home seems to be in Balkh or North Kirghiz, whence they migrated and dispersed later on in South India. The Bhr.gus also seem to supply the connecting link between the Semitic and the Aryan element.' (V.G. Rahurkar, 1976, Bhr.gu and Bhr.gus in the Vedic and the Post-Vedic Literature, Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Pune, No. 3, pp. 9-24). Another work is Robert P. Goldman, 1977, *Gods, priests and warriors: the Bhr.gus of the Maha_bha_rata*; this monograph described the unconventional role played by the Bhr.gus and their pre-occupation with death, violence, sorcery, hostility to deva-s making them serve as priests to asura-s.

Bhr.gu in Gujarat, Gulf of Khambat! Paras'ura_ma ks.etra

Bha_rgavas were the family preceptors of Haihaya kings. Ka_rtavi_rya_rjuna of the Haihaya dynasty had his capital in Ma_his.mati_, situated on the banks of Narmada_ river.

Paras'ura_ma was the son of the sage Jamadagni, of his wife Ren.uka_. Their a_s'rama was on the shores of the Narmada_ river. Ren.uka_, the mother of Paras'ura_ma, was the daughter of King Prasenajit. Paras'ura_ma had conquered the kings of Cola, Cera and Paun.d.ra; he had constructed the holy place called Samantapan~caka which is Kuruks.etra itself. He performed penance on Mahendragiri. a place visited by Yudhis.t.hira during his pilgrimage (S'loka 30, Chapter 114, Vana Parvan, MBh.)

In the san:kalpa mantra, people of Mahara_s.t.ra refer to the region as Paras'ura_ma ks.etra.

Jayanti Panda evaluates the theories further, after a comprehensive survey of the reference to Bhr.gu-s in many ancient texts: "The Pura_n.as do not speak about the cradle of the Bhr.gus, but they speak of two important families of Bha_rgavas (F.E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 196 ff.), Cyavana and Us'anas S'ukra who occupied different regions. Cyavana married Sukanya_, the daughter of S'arya_ti who was the Lord of A_narta (Gujarat region) and he performed austerities near the Vaidurya Mountain (the west portion of the Sa_tpura range) and the river Narmada_. All these clearly indicate Cyavana's connection with the west of India, the country around the Gulf of Cambay, which is near S'arya_ta's territory. The descendants of Cyavana continued to remain in west India, even when the S'arya_ti's kingdom perished and Haihayas ruled. Aurva, a descendant of Cyavana is said to have lived in Madhyades'a. Paras'ura_ma is regarded as one of the brilliant products of his family who is believed to live in S'u_rpa_raka country (near Bombay). Similary, Us'anas-S'ukra was connected with the central region of Northern India nearer to Pratis.t.ha_na (Allahabad) the kingdom of Yaya_ti, who met his daughter Devaya_ni_ and married her. And Kapa_lamocana on the Sarasvati_ is said to be his Ti_rtha 'Aus'anasa Ti_rtha' (MBh. 9.38.4). Thus these two major divisions of the Bha_rgavas were associated with two different regions of India.' (Jayanti Panda, 1983, Bhr.gus, a Study, Delhi, BR Publishing Corpn., pp. 173-174).

Gulf of Khambat Cultural Complex (GKCC)

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Working in the area off the coast of Gujarat is a tough task with tide fluctuations upto 10 m height and high velocity of currents of upto 6 knots in turbid waters. Project Director Dr. S. Kathiroli, S. Badrinarayanan, D. Venkat Rao, K.M. Sivakkozhuntu, E. Srinivasan and other scientists of the National Institute of OceanTechnology(NIOT) under the direction of Prof.M. Ravindran, have done a remarkable scientific investigation and unravelled a major marine mystery in the Gulf of Khambat They have made a significant contribution to the emerging discipline of Marine Archaeology, The efforts of these Indian scientists and the technological excellence achieved by them should be lauded and encouraged. The work done by NIOT should make every citizen of the country feel proud that India is a force to reckon with in Science and Technology of the world.

NIOT team chanced upon the Gulf of Khambat Cultural Complex (GKCC) in the course of routine multi-purpose marine surveys undertaken along the long coast-line of the country. Once the unusual finds were recognized, the investigation was pursued vigorously and systematically, for two years, including four investigative visits to the site (comparable to four ‘seasons’ of work undertaken by archaeologists on the ground). Only after the scientists were reasonably satisfied and were able to authenticate the discoveries were the findings reported. This fact attests to the high-level of integrity and the scientific method which has governed the team’s work.

Extensive sampling utilising state-of-the-art techniques for positioning using sophisticated equipment and collection of samples could bring out a remarkable collection of artefacts. Samples were collected using: (1) grab sampler; (2) dredgers; and (3) vibro-corer equipment. Over 1000 objects have been collected, out of which about 250 are of archaeological, cultural interest. The methods used for dating some selected artefacts, mostly at a depth of 40 m. below sea level, were:

Carbon-14: (a) National Geophysical Research Institute, Hyderabad; Calibrated Age: 7960-7380 BCE Range; Radio-carbon: 8592+- 235 BP (This is an interim report and a final report is awaited); (b) Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeo-Botany, Lucknow (Calculated Age: 8450 – 8350 BP ; Age of sample: 7610+ - 100 BP).

Thermo Luminiscence: in process with the Physical Research Institute Ahmedabad for pottery samples

Accelerated Mass Petrometry from Regional Research Laboratory, Bhubaneswar for corals and shell artefacts

Results of the sampling and microscopic examination of artefacts (which have been thoroughly documented with a location index) revealed that they are essentially terrestrial formations with no evidence of their being of marine origin. The cores also revealed that just below half-a-metre thick marine sediments, the entire material is fresh water alluvium with a remarkable number and types of fresh water shells.

State-of-the-art technology used by NIOT investigation team included:
Side Scan Sonar (which is a widely accepted method for photographing the sea-bed) used for delineating sea floor surface features and mosaic
Sub Bottom Profiler – for cross-section of the sub-sea-bed
Magnetometre – to identify major structural elements including analysis of impact of tectonics

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Under-water remote-controlled videography was attempted using very advanced equipment but due to high turbidity, the optical systems could not be worked beyond 10 m.; high turbidity which is characteristic of the Gulf makes the water opaque to light.

The major finding relates to a palaeo-channel (ancient river) lying on the sea-bed of GOK, running in an East-West direction. This channel appears to be aligned along the the present course of the River Tapti extended beyond the gulf into Saurashtra, Gujarat. Palaeo-river channel was identified for a distance of over 9 kms. in the middle of the Gulf along with ancient buried rectangular and square-geometrically-shaped basements (possibly foundations of buildings or platforms). On sampling, the palaeo-channel yielded several river conglomerates about 40 km. away from the present-day coastline, indicating, unambiguously, the riverine nature of the area. The conglomerate was found at 30–40 m depth, 40 km. west of Hazira near Surat in Gujarat. A piece of wood was also found at the same site (see the datings reported earlier). Some of the structures include tanks of size 40 m X 40 m and 45 m X 20 m. including what are referred to as gabar-bands in the Sindhu River Basin for training and diverting river water channels. Also seen are groups of constructions in an area 97 m X 24 m in size which could reasonably be interpreted as comparable to the ‘acropolis’ of the Harappan culture.

Some of the astonishing finds include: kiln-burnt potsherds, fused articles with a flat surface with a cylindrical or flat object fused on to it; circular and triangular cakes with precisely drilled holes, even 2 in. long cylindrical beads perforated along the axis and two tablets-in-bas-relief with inscriptions (one with a possible pictorial motif of a person seated in a yogic posture – a typical pictorial motif of objects found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa inscribed with script and another with a triangular sign with lines drawn parallel to the base-line – a pictograph which looks similar to the sign of the Harappan script), semi-fossilized bones (of a bovine), a fossilized jaw-bone, a fossilized part of a vertebral column, a human tooth., semi-precious stone beads with perforated holes of 1cm to less than 1 mm. in diameter.

All these artefacts found only on the banks of the river-bed are indicative of human activity, perhaps a precursor of the maritime-riverine civilization that would unfold in the Sindhu Sarasvati River Basins. The stone structures – polished stone pillars and stone rings --, found at Dholavira, a cultural site in another Gulf close-by, the Rann or Gulf of Kutch, close to the sea and some river channels -- should be comparable to the neolithic nature of the finds of GKCC on a river bank and close to the sea.

The area of the GKCC is a neo-tectonically active terrain and is a graben (like a rift valley) because of its depressed position topographically. When there was a major sea-level rise during the period 6900-7900 BP the entire present area of Gulf of Khambat was inundated by onrushing sea-water and became the Gulf of Khambat. The entire GOK area had perhaps sunk taking down with it the then existing part of the river (maybe an extension of River Tapti or one of its tributaries) and ancient settlements, along the banks of the ancient river.

Since sea-level rise is involved in understanding the history of the formation of the Gulf of Khambat, we have to look for and likely to find similar palaeo-channels and cultural complexes in other parts of the Gulf. Further investigations are likely to reveal early human settlements in the area. As observed so perceptively in the report which appeared in a scientific journal:“If we are keen to discover what possibly lies buried under the sea off an approximately 7000 km. coastline, more facilities in the area of marine archaeology would need to be developed in the country. India

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has to equip itself with tools to conduct work on marine archaeology.” [CURRENT SCIENCE, Vol. 82, No. 4, of 25 February 2002, ‘The seabed reveals artefacts; will India now hone its skills and tools for diving into the realm of marine archaeology?’]

We are on the threshold of further discoveries along the long coastline of India. The efforts of institutions such as NIOT should be encouraged and further efforts made at creating a network of scientists and scholars of a variety of disciplines to collaborate, in a team effort, as a colloquium, under the leadership of NIOT, to unravel the mysteries of the heritage of the country that lie on the sea-bed of the Sindhu sa_gara, the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal.

Drainage and Topography map around the Gulf of Khambat showing possible rivers sunk about 40m deep, due to tectonic activity, rise in sea level and incursion of sea into the region near Lothal

Land in the region of Lothal (near the Gulf of Khambat) has experienced tectonic uplift since the incursion of the gulf (cf. Prasad et al, 1998, *Geomorphology*, vol. 25, no. 3-4, pp. 207-223).

Lost city! Lost river!

No, these are finds of the scientists of Bha_rata, to enable us to rewrite the history of the maritime, riverine civilization of Bha_rata dating back to 9000 years ago very close to the Glacial Maximum and the start of the ecology-sustaining phenomena of monsoons in Pun.yabhu_mi Bha_rata blessed by the ongoing rise of the Himalayan mountain ranges.

The finds in the Gulf of Khambat are close to a place called Bhr.gu-kaccha (Broach, Gujarat). Bharukaks.a is the name of a village in ancient Bha_rata. "S'u_dras lived there. At that time of the Ra_jasu_ya of Dharmaputra, these s'u_dras brought gifts to the King.' (Chapter 51, Sabha_ Parva; loc.cit. Vettam Mani, 1975, *Pura_n.ic Encyclopaedia*, p. 760).

The word 'bhr.gu' evokes the early Vedic traditions of Bha_rata; Bhr.gu is reckoned as the son of Varun.a.

About 18,000 years ago, the entire Eurasian continent was filled with ice sheets for a period of over 1,000 years and some regions were not affected by such glaciation. One such unaffected region which could thus support vegetation and human settlements was Bha_rata. The story of the lost and revived River Sarasvati which nurtured a civilization with over 2,000 archaeological sites dated to ca. 3300 to 1400 BCE, has been told virtually completely by the scientists of Bha_rata.

What were the roots of this urban Civilization? One surmise was the neolithic site of Mehrgarh west of the River Sindhu. Now another surmise can be made: the neolithic site now submerged in the Sindhu sa_gara (Arabian Sea) in the Gulf of Khambat, dated to over 9,000 years ago.

The key events seem to relate to quaternary tectonics and the rise of sea levels about 10,000 years ago. The peninsula of Saura_s.t.ra is an earthquake-prone zone, subject to earthquakes caused by plate tectonics since the region is very close the plate boundaries between the Indian Plate and the European Plate. As the continent of Bha_rata has been moving upwards for millions of years and jutting up with the European Plate on the Tibetan plateau, Himalayas are reckoned as the youngest mountain ranges in the world which still continue to rise at the rate of 1 cm. per year, thanks to the clash of plates of the earth's crust. The tectonic upheavals caused by the fundamental, structural

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control exercised by this clash of plates on the entire land-mass and the adjoining/surrounding seas of Bha_rata have resulted in the rise of sea levels, the conversion of what were islands in the Gulf of Kutch into the present-day salty marsh of the Rann of Kutch, the joining of the Saura_s.t.ra peninsular along the Cambay Graben with the mainland of Bha_rata, the changes in courses of ancient, Himalayan, glacier rivers (river migrations, river piracies) -- all extraordinary geological activities of the quaternary periods in geological time, which have had a profound impact on the civilization of Bha_rata for over 10 millennia.

The Vedic civilization was a maritime, riverine civilization as described in the world's oldest human document -- the R.gveda. The Sarasvati Sindhu Valley civilization (ca. 3300 to 1400 BCE) was also a maritime, riverine civilization as found by the archaeological discoveries of over 2,600 archaeological settlements at: Lothal, Padri, Rangapura, Somnath (Prabhas Patan), Nal Sarovar, Surkotada, Kotda (Dholavira), Kotdiji, Chanhujodaro, Mohenjodaro, Ganweriwala, Kalibangan, Lakhmirwala, Bhatinda, Kunal, Banawali, Rakhigarhi, Ropar, Harappa.This civilization was preceded by the neolithic settlements of Mehrgarh (ca. 8th millennium BCE) and now, the discoveries reported in the year 2002 of the Gulf of Khambat Cultural Complex (ca. 10th millennium BCE).

Kudos to the scientists of the National Institute of Ocean Technology who have discovered what appears to be a neolithic settlement in the Gulf of Khambat about 30 m. below the sea-level. This is a discovery that certainly re-writes the history of the Civilization of Bha_rata.

The finds from the Gulf of Khambat are kept as exhibits in the IIT Chennai Campus, in the building housing the National Institute of Ocean Technology (NIOT). Shri Badrinarayan, geologist and Dr. Kathiroli, the project director are most helpful and provide a fascinating account of their discovery incidental to their ongoing work to monitor and evaluate scientifically, the treasures along coastline of Bha_rata.

The Urban Culture of the Gulf of Khambat, which like Mehergarh could be the precursor of the Sarasvati Sindhu Valley Civilization. As new discoveries are getting reported, the epicentre of the civilization is shifting towards Gujarat, which could be the Meluhha mentioned in Mesopotamian texts. Dholavira another stone city in the Gulf of Kutch not too far from the Gulf of Khambat affords proof for this continuity and the capacity of the neolithic people of Bha_rata to work with stone in seeding the civilization of Bha_rata. The autochthonous nature of the civilization gets unravelled with the findings in the Gulf of Khambat followed up in sequence with the finds in Dholavira in the Gulf of Kutch.

The finds at a depth of 30 to 60 m. of the finds in the shoals of the Gulf of Khambat are consistent with the finds of palaeo-channels of River Sarasvati in Rajasthan by the Central Ground Water Board at a depth ranging from 30 to 60 m. based on the exploratory tube-well drillings done using the satellite images of IRS 1-C and 1-D. All the 24 tube-wells have been successful in yielding potable water.

The discoveries on the oceanbed in the Gulf of Khambat (let us call it the Gulf of Khambat Cultural Complex) are remarkable precursors of the civilization which unfolded in the settlements such as Dholavira, Lothal, Padri and Rangapura. The village, Padri-Gohil-ni (Lat. 22° 22'N; Long. 72°95'E) in Bhavnagar District, Gujarat, is located around 55 km to the south of the District headquarters. The ancient site is 2 km to the south of the present village and is spread over an area of 5 ha with a

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habitational deposit 3.5 m thick. Remains of 3 cultural periods were found, namely: Period I - Early Harappan (c. 3000 - 2600 BCE),Period II - Mature Harappan (c. 2500 - 2000 BCE) and Period III - Early Historic (200 BCE - 200 A.D). "A large part of the complex was used for storage as it yielded a couple of stone-topped mud platforms for supporting storage bins and a number of storage jars of a coarser variety. Some of the rooms were occupied by craftsmen such as coppersmiths and flint-knappers. The room of the former individual yielded a circular furnace, a platform and a number of copper implements. The room of the flint-knapper yielded a small fire-place probably for heating the raw material and a number of waste flakes and finished tools. No evidence of cooking or other domestic activities was found."
http://www.picatype.com/dig/dl/dl0aa15.htm

Gujarat; distribution of Mature Harappansettlements; Bhagatrav; 2. Desalpur; 3. Jhangar; 4. Kesari; 5. Khari ka Khanda; . Kotada Bhadli-II; 7. Kotada Bhadli-III; 8. Kotada; 9. Kotadi (Dholavira); 10. Kotara (Juni-Kuvan); 11. Koth; 12. Lakhapur; 13. Lothal (3740 BP); 14. Nagwada-I (370 BP); 15. Nageswar; 16. Pabumath; 17. Pirwada (Khetar); 18. Rangpur; 19. Samagogha; 20. Surkotada (3645 BP).

"A review of the regional archaeological assemblages indicates a cultural continuity, without stratigraphic break, demonstrating that the Harappan culture did not end abruptly, as was thought earlier (Possehl, Gregory L., Indus Valley Civilization in Saurashtra, New Delhi). Nevertheless, there was a change during the second millennium BCEthat led to the abandonment of cities like Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Lothal and many other Harappan sites. In Gujarat, the settlements of the Mature Harappan phase are few and far between compared to the large number of settlements of later phases... the settlements at Nageswar, Lothal and the sites in Kutch amply demonstrate that the settlements were developed mainly for trade and access to raw materials or to facilitate administration rathern than simply subsistence activities. The expansionist tendency on the part of Harappans towards resource areas is further substantiated by the discovery of Shortugai in the lapis lazuli producing region of northern

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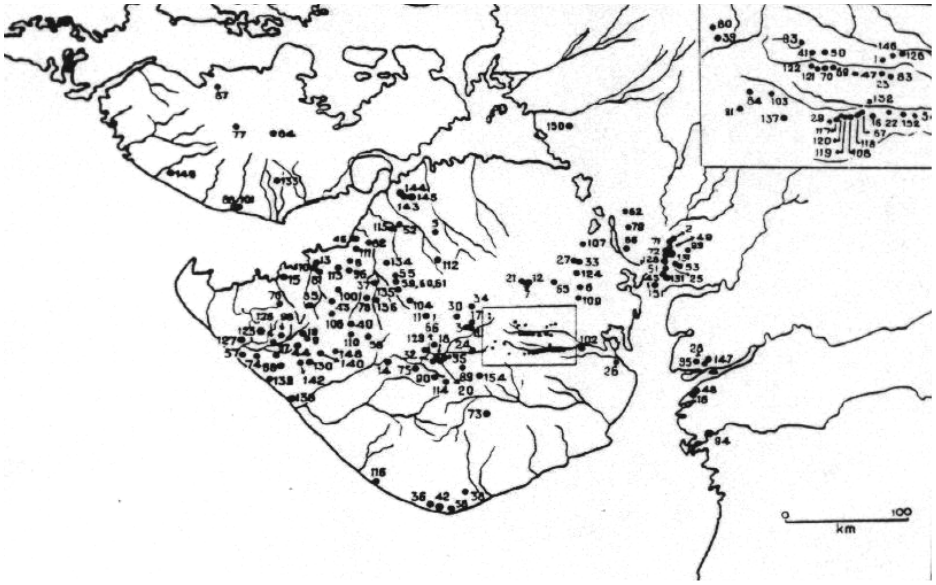
Afghanistan (Frankfort, H.P. and M.H. Pottier, 1978, Sondage preliminaire sur l'establishment protohistorique Harappeen et Post-Harappeen de Shortagai, *Arts Asiatique*, 34: pp. 28-85)." (Kuldeep K. Bhan, Late Harappan Settlements of Western India, with specific reference to Gujarat, pp. 219-234 in: *Wisconsin Archaeological Reports* 2, 1989).



Gujarat; Late Harappan settlements, mainly short-term camps, in the black-cotton soil of Saurashtra (152 sites as compared with 20 in the Mature Harappan period).

Nal Sarovar could be a relic of the River Sarasvati which might have flowed through the funnel of the Little Rann of Kutch into Saurashtra. There are about 100 archaeological sites around this Sarovar region.The shortest riverine route between Dholavira, Surkotada and Lothal could have been through a possible ancient river course which existed through the Nal Sarovar. (It is also possible there were phases of the quaternary period when the sea waters had also encroached into this Sarovar region cutting off Saurashtra from the mainland and making it into an island in ancient times).

Nal Sarovar. Boats and Flamingoes. The bird sanctuary in the Nal Sarovar has a 100 sq.km. lake; islands of the lake are populated by migrating Bharwad shepherds and on the banks are the Padhars, who are folk dancers, artisans and boatmen.

The large amount of alluvium accumulated in the Gulf of Khambat could be explained only by a mighty Himalayan river system bringing in the deritrus into the

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Gulf. "Alex Rogers, 1870. A few remarks on the Geology of the country surrounding the Gulf of Cambay in Western India, Quarterly Journal of Geological Society of London, 26: 118-124 who was perhaps among the earliest observers of the geology of the Gulf of Cambay (close to Lothal), points out that from the geological formation of the country bordering on the Rann, it appeared that the drainage of the PanjAb once flowed into it: `` ... The rapid silting up of the Gulf of Cambay gives particular interest to an inquiry into the geological conditions which probably shaped it in remote ages ... (The head of the Gulf) comprises within itself te Great Runn of Cutch ... primary or metamorphic rocks are traceable in its immediate vicinity only in a small tract on its west coast ... even the highest points of the granite peaks show signs of weathering, and probably also of the erosive action of waves ... Many considerations point to the existence in former ages of some large river flowing down from the north, and falling into the Indian Ocean somewhere in the position of the present Gulf of Cambay..." This could have been the River Sarasvati.

The Maha_bha_rata and many Pura_n.as are emphatic that the River Sarasvati_ joined the sea (Sindhusa_gara, or Arabian Ocean) near Prabha_s Patan (Somnath). Balarama's ti_rthaya_tra from Somnath to Mathura along the banks of River Sarasvati is described in theS'alya parva of the Great Epic in over 200 s'lokas. How did the Sarasvati join the sea at this site, beyond, say, Lothal?

Dockyard, Lothal (in summer); 37 meters from east to west and nearly 22 meters from north to south; 4.26 m. deep. Boats could dock into Lothal in the 1850s and timber was brought from Baruch to Saragwala nearby, in 1942.

Upper town, Lothal. A main bead making apparatus was a twin-chambered kiln, made from mud plastered bricks, which was used for heating the stones used to make beads. A coppersmiths workshop, had a furnace, lined with bricks. It was equiped with tools such as an anvil, copper chisel and clay crucibles. Niches in the workshop walls could have held lamps to illuminate the workshop. Bronze artifacts found: arrow heads, spears, fish hooks, tools and ornaments.

The bead factories were located at the junction of 8th street of the commercial area and 5th street of the residential. Gulf of Cambay region was the resource base of agate and other semiprecious stones. The factories were in 11 rooms, and

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surrounding a courtyard were worker's quarters, warehouse and guard room.

Warehouse or platforms, Lothal

This may be explained by the presence of a tributary of the River flowing from East to West, south of Lothal and cutting through Padri and Rangapura en route to Somnath. This is a reasonable hypothesis which jibes with the finds of the GKCC which surmise a east-west flowing river upto the west coast of Saurashtra. This can be further explained by tectonic activities which might have caused (during the quaternary periods), an upliftment of the terrain leading to the present-day fan-type drainage system in Saurashtra.

The incursion of the sea into land, by a raise in sea level is evidenced by Dwaraka marine archaeological findings of the submergence of the city ca. 1500 BCE. This date matches with the claim made in San:gam literature that Ce_ra kings claim their descent from 42 generations from Dwaraka. (Assuming an average period of 25 years per generation this accounts for 1050 years; thus, if Ce_ra regime on the west coast of India is dated to ca. 500 BCE, the date of the southward movement of people from Dwaraka can be dated to ca. 1550 BCE, a date which matches with the date of the submergence of Dwaraka).

The most significant aspects of the discoveries in Dholavira which can be explained as a continuation of the Gulf of Khambat cultural Complex (GKCC) are:

1. use of stone to build walls, gateways, reservoirs for water and staircases

2. sculpting stone into figurines (GKCC shows the figure of an antelope, Dholavira shows the figure of a monitor lizard -- both finds are sculpted in stone)

3. the capacity of stone-workers to use a lathe to drill perfect holes (GKCC shows many stone artefacts with perfect holes drilled in; Dholavira shows evidence of use of ring-stones in situ for supporting pillars for multi-storeyed structures; many ring-stones have also been found in Mohenjo-daro; these were also apparently structural supports for residential buildings or large-scale structures with stone pillars)

4. ability to work with semi- precious and other stones by drilling through them to create necklaces (GKCC and Dholavira and many other archaeological sites have thousands of artefacts attesting to the art of the lapidary working with agate, carnelian and other semi-precious stones and making stone beads).

Semi-precious stone beads

A reasonable hypothesis, therefore, is that the Gulf of Khambat Cultural Complex (GKCC) is a precursor of the Sarasvati Sindhu civilization which matured ca. 3000 BCE in sites such as Padri, Rangapura, Dholavira and Prabha_s Patan. It is also notable that the southermost site of the civilization is Daimabad, on the Pravara river which is a tributary to River Godavari near Nasik, attesting to a southward migration of people as the tectonic events accounted for the submergence of Dwaraka and the earlier desiccation of the River Sarasvati. The same tectonic events may explain the earlier formation of the Gulf of Khambat by the incursion of the sea along the Cambay Graben.

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The delineation of the ancient course of River Sarasvati in Gujarat will be of value to further researches to link the GKCC finds with the SSVC finds.

There is a possibility that structures similar to GKCC may also occur in the areas surrounding Dholavira in the Gulf of Kutch and the Great Rann of Kutch.

The coast close to the Gulf of Khambat, north of Mumbai is likely to yield conclusive evidence related to the quaternary geology of the region and civilization (neolithic) history which was substantially affected by the active fault-lines of the Cambay Graben which runs through from the Nal Sarovar along the entire coastline through Konkan.

Why is khambat so called?

kumpa_t. is a Munda. One of three other possibilities: because, (1) early organized agricultural farming started here or (2) early stone-work or metalsmithy started here; or (3) the region is prone to earth-quakes.

1. Cognate with kampat.i plot of land on the outskirts of a village set apart for growing bulrush millet [a significant term which may refer to organized agriculture]
2. Cognate with kamma_ra worker in metal (Pali); ka~pr.aut. jeweller's crucible made of rags and clay (Bi.); kammat.i coiner (Ka.) ka_ma_t.t.i = labourer, one who works with a hoe, digger of earth (Ta.Ma.)

3. kambr.i_~ i.e. prone to earth-quakes (L.)

The lexical repertoire from the languages of Bha_rata which may have a relevance to the etymology of the 'Gulf of Khambat' is presented as follows:
2136.<u>Munda</u>: kompat., kompa_t., kumpa_t. <u>adj</u>. with mund.a, a genuine munda, one of those generally called mundas simply, in contrast to mahali mund.a, ho_ mund.a, birur.u mund.a etc. (Mu.lex.)

<u>Grain-pit</u>: kha~wa_r.a_ large pit for storing grain in (H.); kha~wa_, khau~ pit for storing grain in (H.)(CDIAL 3656). X ks.am earth (RV.)(CDIAL 3656). khamb^{uru} hollow left in a heap of grain when some is removed (K.); khama_ long pit, hole in the earth (Or.); khamia_ small hole (Or.); kha~_bar.o hole (Marw.); kha~_bhu~ pit for sweepings and manure (G.)(CDIAL 13639). kha_ma_r barn (B.); khama_ra barn, granary (Or.)(CDIAL 13641).

2109.<u>Image: vibration, shaking, trembling</u>: kampam < kampa vibration, shaking, motion (Man.i. 17,63); kampitam quivering, quaking, trembling, shaking (Tiruva_ta. Pu. Man.cumanta. 56)(Ta.lex.) kampan-am motion, vibration, shaking; quaking, trembling with fear (Ka_cippu. Tar..uvak.); kampalai trembling, quivering, quaking; uproar, tumult, quarrelling; kampittal to shake, toss (Kampara_. Paracura_map. 8); to tremble, quake (Tiruva_ca. 4,61); to shake, vibrate (Pirapo_ta. 23,12) (Ta.lex.) kampa tremor (MBh.); kam.pa tremor (Pkt.); ka_m trembling (N.); kampa_ id. (Or.); ka~_p (H.); shivering (G.M.)(CDIAL 2765). kampaka trembling (Pali)(CDIAL 2766). kampate_ trembles, shivers (MBh.); kampati (Pali); kam.pai (Pkt.); ka~_p (Dm.); kambu_m I shiver (Phal.); kamun (K.); kamban.u (S.); kamban. (L.); kambn.a_ to shiver (P.); ka_mn.o (Ku.); ka_mnu (N.); ka~piba (A.); ka~_pa_ (B.); kampiba_ (Or.); ka~_pal (Bhoj.); ka~_pab (Mth.Aw.); ka~_pna_,

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ka_pna_ (H.); ka~_pvu~ (G.); ka~_pn.e~ (M.); kapuma trembling (Si.); kam.pa_ve_i makes tremble (Pkt.); kamba_un.a_ (P.); kama_unu (N.); ka~pa_iba_ (Or.); kampa_iba (A.); kapa_eb (Mth.); ka~pa_na_ (H.); kapavuma trembling (Si.)(CDIAL 2767). kampana trembling (Sus'r.); tremor, earthquake (Pali); kam.pan.a trembling (Pkt.); kambin.i_ (S.); kambr.i~_ (L.); kamn.a~_ (L.); ka~pani (A.); ka~_pan, ka~_pani (B.); ka~_pan (Mth.)(CDIAL 2768). kampra trembling (Pa_n..); agile (Skt.); kam.pira trembling (Pkt.); ka~_pra_ given to trembling (M.); ka~_pra_, ka~_pre~ trembling (M.)(CDIAL 2769). kampa-va_tam shaking palsy, paralysis agitons (Ta.lex.) tun.ukkam trembling, palpitation of the heart through fear (Kampara_. U_rte_t.u. 97); vibration; tun.un:ku-tal to fear (Ta.lex.)

2106.Army: kampana, kampa_na (IE 8-3.IEG.) the army (in ancient Kashmir); kampan-a_dhipati (HD) commander-in-chief (in ancient Kashmir); same as kampanapati, kampanes'a, kampan-odgra_haka etc. (Ra_jatarangin.i_, V.447; VII.1362, 1366.) kavan-am war; army; perplexity, bewilderment; heat (Ta.lex.) cf. kadana (Skt.)

2101.Land measure: kamma, kamba, kambha (Ka.< ?stambha, skambha) a land measure = 1/100 of a mattaru or nivartana.(IE 8-6.EI 12,19.IEG.) Grant of village for wife: kammattam zemindar's or inamdar's land which he cultivates with his own labourers; grant of a village for a wife's pocket expenses (M.M. 249)(Ta.lex.) kampatta-k-ka_ran- one who owns landed property (Ta.); kammatamu (Te.); kampattam agriculture, cultivation by the owner with his own stock; agricultural land (Ta.); kammatamu (Te.); kampal.am, kampal.atta_n- the Tot.t.iya caste; man of the Tot.t.iya caste (Ta.); kampal.ar men of the Tot.t.iya caste (Ta.)(Ta.lex.) kampat.i plot of land on the outskirts of a village set apart for growing bulrush millet (G.Tn.D. i,159)(Ta.lex.)

Inhabitants of an agricultural tract: kampalai agricultural tract (Ta.); kampal.ar inhabitants of an agricultural tract (Ta.); men of Tot.t.iya caste (Ta.lex.) kampal.atta_yi female demon worshipped by the Tot.t.iya caste; kampal.am the tot.t.iya caste (Tan-ippa_. i,339,51); kammava_r a Telugu agricultural caste (Ta.); kammava_ru id. (Te.); kama-t-tor..il tillage, cultivation; kamam cultivation, agriculture; field, farm (Ta.lex.) kampu-kat.t.i one who irrigates (Ce_kkir..a_r. Pu. 4)(Ta.lex.) kampan.a a district (Ka.); kampan.amu an administrative division (Te.): kampala, kampan.a an administrartive division (ASLV); kampan.a (IE 8-4.IEG.) a small territorial unit like a Pargana_. kampanah. (Skt. Mayrhofer)(DEDR 1237). kampal.ar inhabitants of an agricultural tract (Ta.)(DEDR 1237). ka_mpili, ka_mpiliyam name of an ancient kingdom in N. India (ka_mpili-k-ka_van-man-n-an- (Ci_vaka. 611); kampili a city in Northern India (Kalin.. 190, Putup.)(Ta.lex.) ka_mbiru coming from Ka_mbar, epithet of a particular kind of rice; ka_mbar a town in Ca_ndika_ (S.); kampilla a town in Punjab (Pkt.); ka_mpi_la name of a town (VS.); ka_mpilya a city of Pa_n~ca_las (MBh.); ka_mpilla a country in the NW of India (Skt.)(CDIAL 3047). Peasant: ka_p Parja (i.e. speaker of Parji)(Go.); ka~_pu a cultivator, farmer; pertaining to the farmer, rustic (Te.); ka~_pata, ka~_pudi a peasant woman (Te.); ka~_pu~danamu the peasantry (Te.); ka~_puramu residence, abode, domicile (Te.); ka_ppiliyar [cf.ka_mpiliya] a caste of Kanarese cultivators, found chiefly in Madura and Tinnevelly districts, using the title kavan.d.an (Ta.lex.) ka_pu a cultivator, farmer; pertaining to the farmer, rustic (Te.); ka_p Parja (i.e.speaker of Parji)(Go.); ga_mpa, ga_n.pa a rustic; a simpleton, vulgar or vile man (Ka.)(DEDR 1456). Fisherman; toddy-drawer: kabbila huntsman, fowler, rustic; kabbiliga, kabbeya boatman, fisherman (Ka.); kabbili toddy-drawer; gamal.l.ava~_d.u man of the toddy-drawer caste; gavun.d.lava~_d.u a toddy-drawer (Te.)(DEDR 1227). Agriculture: kamam cultivation, agriculture; field, farm (Ta.); cf. karman (Skt.); kamampulam lands and fields (Ta.); kamava_ram share of the produce of land given in return for agricultural implements loaned for its cultivation (Ta.lex.) kaman, khamna forest; kamna t.a_li

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nilgai (Go.); kaman forest (Pe.); kaman. id. (Mand..); kambor.i, kamboni forest, jungle (Kui); kamn.a park, grove; forest (Kuwi); kambare uncultivated ground (Malt.)(DEDR 1228). Female demon: kampalai-ma_ri female demon worshipped especially by Veddahs; termagant, scold (Ta.lex.)

2102.Image: pillar, post: kampam < khamba (Pkt.) post, pillar; lamp-stand, candlestick; kampu pole for measuring wet lands = 2ft. + 1 span (Ta.lex.) kampu post for tying elephants; stake (Te_va_. 1092,4); kambu id. (Te.); kampu pole, rod, stick (I_t.u, 4,1, Pra.); pole for measuring wet lands = 2 ft. + 1 span (Ta.lex.) kha~_bn.i_ small post (M.); kha_mn.iyu~ one of the ropes with which the bucket is let down in a well (i.e. from the post?)(G.); khaman.a pit, hole, water-channel, lowland at foot of mountain (Or.); kha_mn.u~ small depression to stand round-bottomed vessel in, basin at root of a tree for water (G.)(CDIAL 13644). iskow peg (Kal.Kho.)(CDIAL 13638). skambha prop, pillar (RV.); khambha prop (Pali); kham.bha post, pillar (Pkt.); is'kyop, us'kob bridge (Pr.); khabba_, khambba_ stake forming fulcrum for oar (L.); khambh, khambha_, khammha_ wooden prop, post (P.); kham a part of the yoke of a plough (WPah.); kha_mba_ beam, pier (WPah.); pillar, post (B.); kha_mo a support (Ku.); kha_m pillar (of wood or bricks)(Ku.); post, stake (B.); post, pillar, mast (H.); pillar (G.); kha_ma_ post of brick-crushing machine (Bi.); kha~_bo pillar, post (N.); kha_mhi_ support of betel-cage roof (Bi.); khamhiya_ wooden pillar supporting roof (Bi.); kha_mh, kha_mhi_ pillar, post (Mth.); khamha_ rudder-post (Mth.); khambha_ pillar (Bhoj.OAw,); khambhiya_ prop (Bhoj.); kha_m.bhe pillars (OAw.); khambh pillar, pole (H.); kha~_bhi, kha~_bi post (G.); kha~_b (M.); kha_mbho, kha_mbo (Konkan.i); kap (Si.)(CDIAL 13639). X stha_n.u obstacle, stump (RV.); tree-root, lopped tree (AV.); kha_n.u post, stump, lopped tree (Pkt.); khan.n.u, khan.n.ua small post, peg (Pkt.); kan.u pillar (OSi.); kanu-va post, pile (Si.); t.ha_n.u lopped tree, post (Pkt.); t.ha_nu clump of bamboos (N.); tha_n.u stump of tree, pollard (Or.)(CDIAL 13750). kamha_r., kamhar., kamhan.d.a_ wooden frame suspended from roof which drives home the thread in a loom (Bi.)(CDIAL 13642).

Kenoyer and Shaffer divide the chronology for the cultures into four Eras (Kenoyer 1991a; Shaffer 1992).

11. Early Food Producing Era (ca. 7000-5500 BCE) also called the Neolithic period, involving exploitation of domestic plants and animals.
12. Regionalization Era, (5500-2600 BCE) exemplified by specific artifact styles and regional cultural interaction. During this era, settlements grew from small villages to large towns and market areas, they developed a higher degree of regional and internal social differentiation (Kenoyer 1991b).
13. Integration Era (2600-1900 BCE) characterized by urban centers and smaller regional towns, . use of a writing system found on pottery or on inscribed seals and tablets, standardized cubical stone weights and emergence of what may be termed "city states" (Kenoyer 1997a).
14. Localization Era (1900-1300 BCE records significant changes, including disappearance of Indus writing, virtual breakdown of long distance trade and emergence of a new cultural tradition incorporating a much wider geographical area extending from the Sindhu to the Ganga and Yamuna alluvial plains (Kenoyer 1995a).

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Agro-pastoral communities of the Kacchi plain or on the Quetta Plateau had started to exploit domestic plants, such as wheat and barley, and animals such as sheep, goat and cattle (Meadow 1996).

Mark Kenoyer notes that "in studying the earliest urban settlement of South Asia, we do not have written documents that describe the structural and social organization of a city. Consequently, our understanding of the urban process is sketchy" (Kenoyer 1991: 29). S.R. Rao observes that "to deserve the term 'Late Harappan' it is essential that the inhabitants of the de-urbanized phase must have retained the core of Harappan achievements such as writing, use of the Harappan standard of weights and Harappan religious beliefs including the method of the disposal of the dead" (Rao 1980: 354). But then, it appears that 'late Harappans' stopped using the writing system. The reasons for this have to be investigated by extensive digging of the largest archaeological sites such as Gurnikalan, Hasni in Bhatinda District, while recognizing that the system of weights and measures continued to survive. "only about 3% of all the sites reported as being 'Harappan' have been excavated horizontally to the maximum of 20% of their area" (Jansen 1981:251).

Schaeffer notes: "while urban centers may have ceased to exist in Sind, it is impossible to assert that this was the situation for the entire area covered by the Harappan Culture during this phase. Certainly, until some of the large Medieval and Early Historic sites which also have associated Late Harappan ceramics are excavated, and the extent of the Late Harappan settlement determined, it is inappropriate to conclude that urban centers were absent during the Late Harappan period…"such subjective evaluations as 'decline' and 'degenerate' are unwarranted until a fuller archaeological record is available for examination. Cultural changes distinguish the Late from the Mature Harappan Phase, but the exact nature of these changes and the processes responsible for them are at present unknown" (1982: 49).

Continuity of cultural traits in BMAC and other neighbouring regions

Mehrgarh records the production of button seals with geometric designs with designs of stepped cross, concentric circle and cross motifs, as well as punctated or incised motifs and made of terracotta and bone (Jarrige et al. 1995). The button-seal types were to be found at later times in the Bactria Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) sites.

Painted Grey Wares

Dr. Rita Wright, based on field research at Mehrgarh and Harappa in Pakistan, divides the painted grey wares into two major groups with identical technology but with differing stylistic traits: Faiz Mohammad and Emir, differentiated by size and shape. She notes that "there are only a few sites on which the two groups overlap and in all cases the 'intrusive' group appears in smaller quantities…this study of the Emir and Faiz Mohammad ceramics... highlights the restriction of stylistic traits to eastern Iran in the case of the Emir, and to Pakistani Baluchistan in the case of the Faiz Mohammad. The technology, on the other hand, crossed these cultural boundaries and is present throughout the region, although a necessary component would have been craftsmen sufficiently skilled to master the techniques" (Wright 1989a: 140, 146).

Balathal (Udaipur District) in Mewar region of Rajasthan, evidences Chalcolithic Age early third millennium BCE and continuity of a cultural from 2400-1700 BCE contemporaneous with the Sarasvati River Valley Civilization.

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“The vertical excavations at Ahar (Sankalia *et al.* 1969), Gilund (IAR 1959-60) and Kayatha (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1973) in central India have provided a complete regional cultural sequence starting from the Chalcolithic period, whereas the large-scale horizontal excavations at Navdatoli (Sankalia et al 1972) and Balathal (Misra et al 1995 and 1997) have thrown light on various aspects of the life style of the early farming communities of this region…painted, wheel-made ceramic traditions, a specialised blade/flake industry, restricted use of copper and subsistence based on farming, stock-raising, pastoral and limited hunting. They constructed either rectangular or round mud houses… The first settlers at Balathal introduced earthen pots and some of the characteristic Chalcolithic wares such as thick and thin Red, Black-and-Red were produced right from the beginning... Discovery of a few copper fragments, beads of steatite and semi-precious stones such as carnelian and agate is the testimony to the introduction of copper melting, tool and bead manufacturing technologies right from the beginning of the settlement… The excavation work carried out at sites like Navdatoli, Kayatha, Eran and Nagda suggested that all them were occupied in the second phase (Phase B) dated between 2500-1600 B.C., which is the most prosperous period of the Chalcolithic culture. It appears that the origin took place at a few sites only and subsequently, after they attained prosperity and their population increased, they spread almost all over central India, including the Malwa, Mewar regions and the Chambal valley… Numerous copper objects such as razor blades, knives, chisels, arrowheads and spearheads, axes recovered from a number of sites are typological similarity to those found in the Harappan levels. The Harappans could have developed contacts with these people to obtain copper ores as some of the sites are very close to the thick deposits of copper. The other possibility is that the Harappans even imported finished copper goods from sites like Ahar, which is identified as one of the centres of copper smelting and working (Sankalia 1969).”

“Large-scale horizontal excavations carried out at sites like Navadatoli (Khargaon District, Madhya Pradesh) (Sankalia *et al.* 1971), Balathal (Udaipur District, Rajasthan) (Misra *et al*. 1995 and 1997), Inamgaon (Poona district), situated on the right bank of the river Ghod, one of the major tributaries of the Bhima (Dhavalikar *et al*. 1988) and Daimabad (Ahmednagar district) on the left bank of the river Pravara, the major tributary of the Godavari (Sali 1986; Shinde and Pappu 1990) have thrown light on various aspects, including socio-economic organization, of the Chalcolithic cultures of Western India... Extensive and intensive surveys carried out in different parts of Western India for last fifty years have brought to light nearly 200 sites in the Deccan and 185 sites in central India, including the Mewar region of Rajasthan. The Chalcolithic settlements of Deccan have been subjected to detailed study. It has been hypothesized that there was a heavy concentration of settlements in the Tapi, less in the Godavari and a sporadic occurrence of sites in the Bhima basin (Shinde 1986-87; Shinde 1987; Dhavalikar 1979)…

“Different phases identified within the Chalcolithic period in the Deccan and Central India share a lot of common material culture. They are characterised by painted Black on Red ceramic tradition, mud houses, either rectangular or circular on plan, well developed blade industry, restricted use of copper and mixed subsistence based on farming, stock raising and hunting and gathering. It is on the basis of minor variation in their painted ceramic traditions that the different phases have been identified (Shinde 1989 and 1994). The chronology of the five phases identified within the Chalcolithic period of Deccan is as follow:

Phase I (Savalda) 2200-1800 BCE
Phase II (Late Harappa) 1800-1600 BCE
Phase III (Malwa) 1600-1400 BCE
Phase IV (Early Jorwe) 1400-1000 BCE

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Phase V (Late Jorwe) 1000- 700 BCE

"Prior to the excavations at Balathal, most of the large Chalcolithic sites produced the evidence of modest-sized rectangular or circular mud houses with low mud wall and wattle-and-daub screen above them. Floors were made of alternate layers of silt and black clay and periodically plastered with cow dung. People occupying semi-permanent settlements like Kaothe in Dhule District and Walki in Poona District of Maharashtra, however, preferred different dwellings. Besides, rectangular and circular mud houses, the excavations at Kaothe in Dhule District have yielded pit-dwellings (Dhavalikar *et al*. 1990 and Shinde 1992). The settlement, as the evidence suggests, possibly occupied seasonally, belongs to Phase I of the Chalcolithic period in the Deccan. A number of circular pit-dwellings in clusters were exposed. Each cluster consisted of five to six dwellings. On the basis of the contents, it was possible to identify the dwelling pit, the storage pit and pits for keeping poultry in a cluster. The sides and bottoms of the pit-dwellings were plastered with cow dung or lime. Kitchen facility was located either inside or outside the dwellings (Dhavalikar *et al*. 1990a, Shinde 1994)…The evidence of a fire altar at Navdatoli and sacrificial altars and an upsidal mud-walled structure identified as a shrine at Daimabad leads to believe that fire worship was in vogue in the Chalcolithic period (Shinde 1989 and 1990). (Vasant Shinde, Chalcolithic Phase in Western India (Including Central India and the Deccan Region http://www.serindian.com/sa-research/sa0aa17.htm)

Lothal

Among port-settlements in Gujarat were: Lothal, Bhagatrav, Sutkagendor, Sutkakah, and Dholavira.

Changes in sea-level, linked to plate tectonics and the processes of glaciation and de- Dholavira and Pabumath, which stood on the coastline ca. 5000 years ago, are now on the Rann in the Gulf of Kutch. Since Khadir was an island, communication between Dholavira and sites like Pabumath in Kutch, were carried on across the sea. Pieces of shell bangles, shell discs, ladles and fragments of large marine shells occur on the surface at Dholavira. Many shell objects have been found at Pabumath. Pabumath had, perhaps, river-way or overland links via Lakhapar, Kerasi and Surkotada down to the Little Rann. An overland route might have linked Desalpar to Khirasara and further south to Navinal on the Gulf of Kutch. Dholavira was a port interacting with sites like Suktagendor and Sotkakoh on the Makran Coast. Allahdino settlement site near Karachi evidences a "staggering quantity of all artifact categories. Such items as biconical ball, ceramic bangles, toy-cart frames, terracotta triangles and cakes have been found in quantities exceeding 10,000 each" (Shaffer 1979: 25).

"The even spreading of coastal settlements in the fifth and fourth millennia BCE all along the northern Indian Ocean seaboard has probably acted as a conveyor belt between the two continents, channeling an early dispersal of domestic plants and animals…The likely sources of supply (of copper), all exploitd in prehistoric times are the Chagai Hills in Northwestern Baluchistan, 450 km west of Mohenjo-daro, the Khetri copper belt in Northern Rajasthan, 250 km south of Kalibangan (Agrawala 1984) and Oman, 500 km. South-east of Pasni…As indicated by the fortified Harappan settlements in Makran, G.F. Dales' study of the area since 1960 has shown the unique military character of Sutkagen Dor and Sokta Koh, surrounded by heavy stone works each placed some twenty to thirty miles inland cutting highly strategical communication lines between inland oases and seashore. These settlements are suggestive of a critical state of confrontation, and no imported materials have been found so far north of the fortified lines, although the so-called Kulli assemblage of South Baluchistan incorporates in this period relevant elements in common with the Harappan culture…Before any of the Omani

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archaeological evidence was at hand, G.F. Dales had already brought to attention the possible relationship between Harappan hegemony over the seafaring trade in the Arabian Sea and the collapse of the Middle Asian urban systems (1971: 166-7, 1977: 74-7). His emphasis being strongly on trade, i.e. the flow of eastern rare resources towards Mesopotamia, Dales has viewed the entire question from the westbound perspective of 'avenues of contact' (1973: 167) suggesting a shift from an overland transport system to a seafaring one. The fortified centers along the Makran coast would then be part of a seclusive strategy, directed to protect a vital trunk system from the destabilized regions of the interior. Such a chain of reasoning has been to some extent confirmed by the Omani record…towards the end of the third millennium BCE." [Serge Cleuziou and Maurizio Tosi, 1989, The south-eastern frontier of the ancient near East, in: Karen Frifelt and Per Sorensen, 1989, *South Asian Archaeology 1985,* Curzon Press, pp. 15-43].

Many sites such as Dholavira and Surkotada, on the islands of the Rann should have been involved in the maritime trade activities with the Persian Gulf, the Makran Coast south of Karachi and with the other riverine sites of the civilization such as Mehrgarh, Kotdiji and Kalibangan. It is unclear if trade between Sind and Kutch and between Kutch and Saurashtra were entirely seaborne; there could also have been water-ways linking Kutch and Saurashtra – waterways which were extensions of ancient courses of Rivers Sindhu and Sarasvati through the Kori Creek and the present-day Nal Sarovar south of the Little Rann of Kutch.

"The term Indus Valley Tradition is used to incorporate the long term cultural trajectory that characterizes the large geographical region of the Indus and Ghaggar-Hakra river valleys (Kenoyer 1998) (Figure 1). This area extends from the highlands of Baluchistan, Pakistan on the west across the vast Indus alluvial plains to the deserts of Cholistan and Thar that form the border between Pakistan and India. From north to south the region stretches from the foothills of the Himalaya to the coastal regions of Makran, Pakistan and the islands and mainland of Gujarat, India. This vast geographical area provides numerous diverse resource areas for raw materials as well as subsistence activities. The juxtaposition of these resources provides a stimulus for the establishment of exchange networks that were facilitated by numerous passes between the highlands and alluvial plain, the presence of rivers and relatively accessible coastal regions…The contrast between the Early Harappan and Harappan phase is not so much the presence or absence of specific technologies, but rather the ways in which specific technologies were used. During the Kot Diji Phase, around 2800 BC, we see the first elaboration of technologies such as faience working and seal carving. These crafts were undoubtedly associated with the emergence and consolidation of new social groups that used specific types of artifacts to distinguish themselves and their ideologies. The presence of similar crafts in the two adjacent walled areas at Harappa suggest that crafts played a very important role in legitimation of competing merchants and other elites…"

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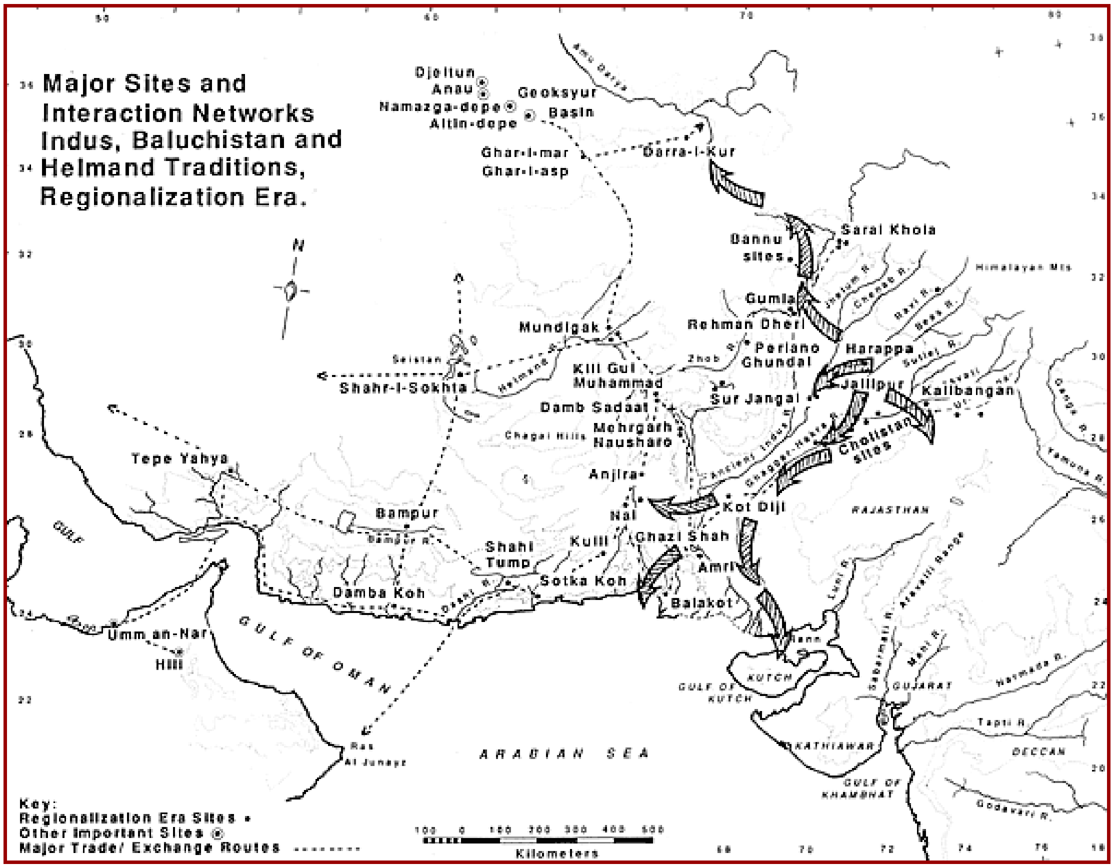

Fig. 1

Table 1. General Chronology of the Indus Valley Tradition

Integration Era
- Harappan Phase 2600 to 1900 BC
- Harappa: Period 3C, Final 2200-1900 BC

Localization Era
- Late Harappan Phase ca. 1900 to 1300 BC
  - Harappa: Periods 4 and 5 1900-1700 BC
  - Harappa: Period 3B, Middle 2450-2200 BC
  - = Nausharo, Period III
  - Harappa: Period 3A, Initial 2600-2450 BC
  - = Nausharo, Period II

Regionalization Era
- Early Harappan (several Phases) ca. 5500 to 2600 BC
  - Harappa: Period 2, Kot Diji Phase 2800-2600 BC
  - = Nausharo, Period I,
  - = Mehrgarh, Period VII (Kot Diji Phase)
  - Harappa: Period 1,A & B, Ravi Phase 3300-2800 BC
  - = Mehrgarh, Period IV to VI 3500-2800 BC
  - Mehrgarh, Period III 4800-3500 BC
  - Mehrgarh, Period II 5500-4800 BC

Early Food Producing Era

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Neolithic ca. 7000 to 5500 BC
Mehrgarh, Period 1, Aceramic 7000-5500 BC

http://www.harappa.com/indus3/e1.html

"The manufacture of seals shows a dramatic change during the later part of the Early Harappan or Kot Diji Phase. The early button seals made of carved bone from the Ravi phase (Meadow, Kenoyer and Wright 1998) are replaced with carved soapstone or steatite seals having geometric incised designs (Meadow, Kenoyer and Wright 1996; Meadow, Kenoyer and Wright 1998). Some of these seals are bleached white and glazed to create a hard surface suitable for repeated stamping (Figure 3). The discovery of a terracotta sealing of a square seal with script and a geometric or plant motif indicates that they were in fact used for such purposes. An unfinished seal with an elephant motif also provides the earliest evidence for the local manufacture and use of large symbolic animals on the steatite seals (Kenoyer and Meadow 2001 in press)." http://www.harappa.com/indus3/e4.html

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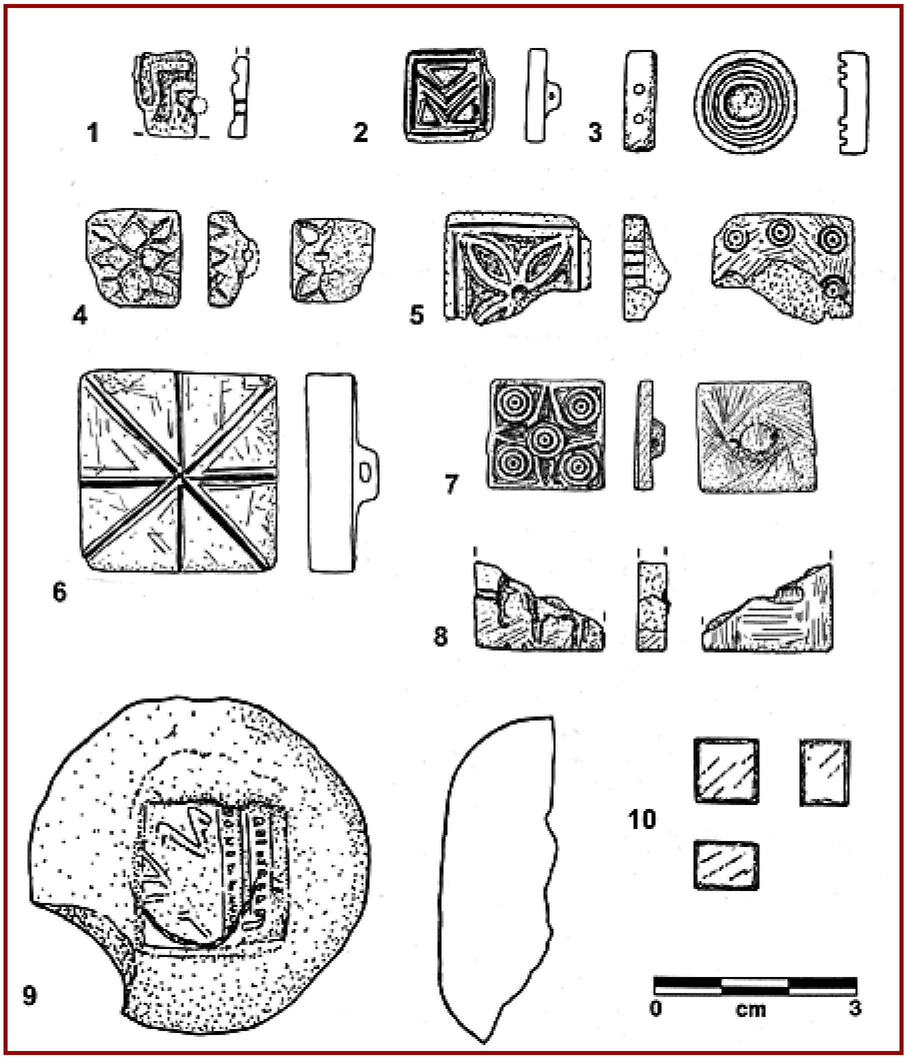

Figure 3: Harappa: Ravi and Kot Diji Phase Seals

1.Button Seal, bone, Ravi Phase, H98-3503/8514-07.
2.Button Seal, glazed steatite, Kot Diji Phase, H96-2740/7469-01.
3.Button Seal, glazed steatite, Kot Diji Phase, H96/7458-01.
4.Button Seal, glazed steatite, Kot Diji Phase, H98-3453/8301-01.
5.Button Seal, glazed steatite, Kot Diji Phase, H98-3493/8314-01.
6.Button Seal, unfired steatite, Kot Diji Phase, H96-2743/7402-90.
7.Button Seal, glazed steatite, Kot Diji Phase, H2000-4495/9597-01.
8.Elephant Seal, glazed steatite, Kot Diji Phase, H2000-4474/8994-01.
9.Terracotta sealing, Kot Diji Phase, H98-3485/8437-01.
10.Limestone cubical weight, Kot Diji Phase, H98-3430/8499-16.

Sea-faring merchants of Sarasvati Sindhu

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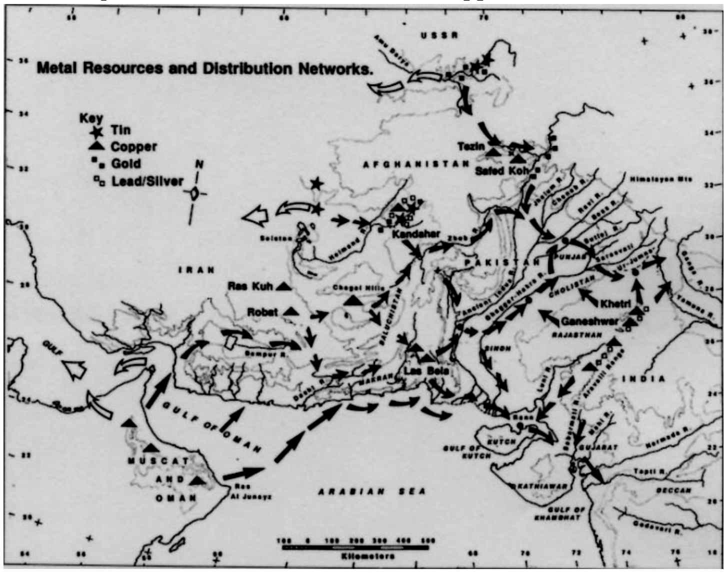
At Ras al-Junayz an inscription with four Indus characters was found incised on the shoulder of a painted jar. ‘This locality occupies an even more strategic position on the coastal route from Karachi to the Horn of Africa…it seems increasingly likely that the Indus civilization contributed more to oceanic seacraft than any of the other proto-urban civilizations of the Middle East.’ [M. Tosi, 1982, A possible Harappan seaport in eastern Arabia: R’as Al-Junayz in the Sultanate of Oman. Paper presented at the *First International Conference on Pakistan Archaeology*, Peshawar, March 1-4]. “It has long been appreciated that Mesopotamia, the agriculturally richest and the most populous area, had huge quantities of grain, oil, and woolen textiles to offer. It was also perhaps the home of the most skilled metallurgists. But it was the largest importer of metals, stones and shells (having none of these locally), most of which came from South Asia, the eastern terminus of the trading circuit. Besides being procurers and suppliers of so many trade items, the Harappans may well have been the most accomplished seafarers, given their privileged access to the best boat-building timbers (these have up to recent times been imported by seafarers of the Gulf from India). It hardly bears repetition that the movement of heavy and bulk items like stone, metal, and timber is immensely cheaper by water than by land…We have two glimpses of its (trade) scale from the cuneiform texts. The first concerns a trade transaction (see Roaf 1982) in which some 18,000 kg of copper were involved. In the second, consignment of 2,380 ‘gur’ (a capacity measure) of barley goes to Magan (see Ratnagar 1981: 80). If, as is commonly accepted, a ‘gur’ was 240 litres or 180 kg. Of grain, then 2,380 ‘gur’ was a gigantic amount, and its import requires careful thinking out.” [Shereen Ratnagar, 1995, Harappan trade in its ‘world’ context, *Man and Environment* 19: 115-27].

Traders of SSVC

“ Most of the Indus trade was focused on supplying the cities with food and the necessary raw materials for producing tools, status objects and trade goods. However, within the Indus Valley itself, there were limited resources for metals, stone and minerals, and many of the raw materials were obtained from nearby regions. Indus settlements gradually spread into Gujarat and parts of Baluchistan to exploit these resources, and more distant trading outposts or colonies were established in northern Afghanistan and along the Makran coast. One important factor in the development and expansion of Indus trade networks is that many essential raw materials needed by the Indus cities were available in more than one locality. This unique distribution of raw materials appears to have stimulated economic competition and growth.” [JM Kenoyer, 1998, p. 91]



The distribution of raw materials necessitated long-distance trade. This explains the archaeological finds, in Mesopotamia and in the Bactra-Margiana Archaeological Complex, of inscribed objects related to or orthographically influenced by the civilization. The Meluhhan interpreter was used in the trade with another linguistic area: Mesopotamia.

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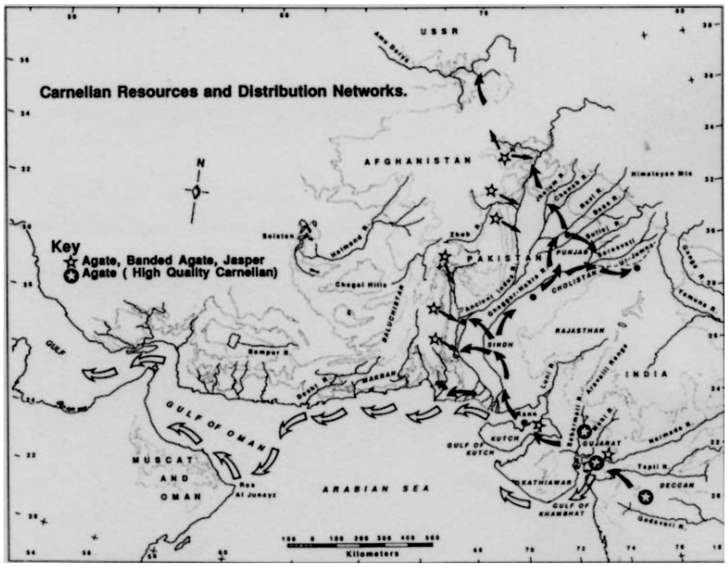
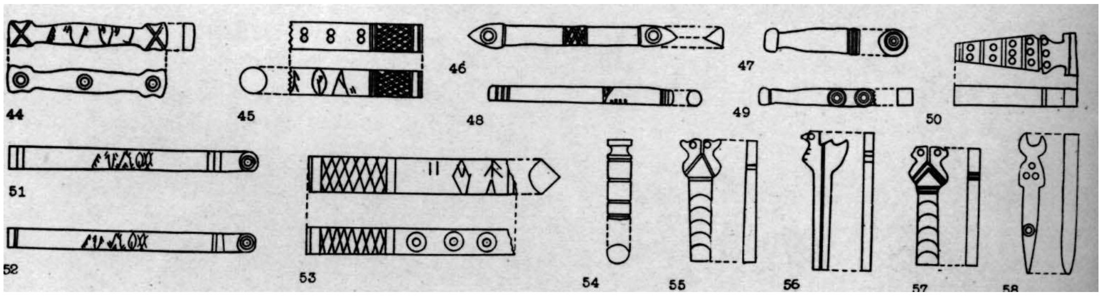
Carnelian bead decorated with white designs from the royal cemetery of Ur. Pear-shaped bead. UPM #35-1-77, Field # U 18880. PJ, Grave 57.

Metal, Carnelian, and Lapis Lazuli resources and distribution networks [After Figs. 5.20c, e and f in JM Kenoyer, 1998]. "Copper was probably smelted near the mining sources and brought into the Indus Valley as bun-shaped ingots. Major coper sources are located to the west in Baluchistan, the east in Rajasthan and across the gulf in Oman. Any of these areas could have provided enough copper to supply the entire Indus Valley civilization, but the Indus merchants were trading with all these areas…we have increasing evidence to suggest that at least a few Indus entrepreneurs traveled to these distant lands. Most trade was probably carried on by sea, although we have some evidence for limited overland trade through southern Iran…





Mohenjo-daro. Ivory and bone rods with inscriptions and dottd circles. [After Pl. CX, 44 to 28 in: Mackay, FEM].

String of decorated carnelian, lapis lazuli and gold beads. UPM#30-12-573,PG 1422 (Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum). Carnelian bead decorated with white designs from the royal cemetery of Ur. Pear-shaped bead. UPM #35-1-77, Field # U 18880. PJ, Grave 57.

Numerous Indus artifacts have been found in Oman and along southern coast of the Arabian Gulf, and characteristic circular seals from the Gulf sites have been found in the Indus Valley…Numerous jar fragments, often with Indus script on the shoulder, have been found at many different Gulf sites. These vessels may have conveyed indigo or liquid foods ssuch as clarified butter, pickled vegetables or fruits, honey or wine. The narrow base may have been designed to alow the jars to be placed along the bottom of the ship's hold. At the site of Ras' al-Junayz in Oman, one of these

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large, black-slipped vessels with graffiti was found along with a bronze Indus stamp seal…the only preserved objects are Indus beads, cubical chert weights and ivory objects such as a comb…Current evidence suggests that most trade with Oman took place during the height of the Indus cities between 2200 and 2100 BCE. Further to the west in Mesopotamia, trade contacts with the Indus Valley are reflected in artifacts such as terracotta sealings from bundles of goods, as well as numerous texts that mention the goods that were being traded…merchants or entrepreneurs from the Indus Valley may have set up shops in cities such as Ur to market their goods and also produce objects in local designs. If this can be confirmed through further studies, it would be the earliest evidence for a pattern that came to be the norm in later historical times, when craftsmen and merchants from the subcontinent extended their trade networks throughout West Asia as well as Southeast Asia." (JM Kenoyer, 1998, pp. 94, 97).

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A_rya_varta. After JAB van Buitenen, *The Maha_bha_rata*, Book1. This map is based on *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*, originally published by the Universityh of. Chicago Press, 19778 and reissued, with new matter by Oxford University Press, New York, 1992.

The Great Epics, *Maha_bha_rata* and *Ra_ma_yan.a* show the spread of Vedic culture to the east and the south.

RV. VIII,25,4 (*mahanta_ mitra_varun.a_ samra_ja deva_vasura_*) refers to Mitra and Varun.a as Deva_ (gods) and Asura_ (demons), anticipating a conflict between two sections of the people to be elaborated in the bra_hman.as and pura_n.as: one section worshipped the divinity as Deva and the other as Asura; this is evident from an anecdote in *Maha_bha_rata*; the king of Devas was Yaya_ti;

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he had married the daughters of two Asuras: S'armis.t.ha_, daughter of king Vris.aparvan who was a disciple of the priest S'ukra; and Devaya_ni, daugher of the priest Us'anas-S'ukra.

Roots of this Rigvedic India should, therefore, be sought within the Sarasvati-Sindhu doab.

The locus of Vedic society and Harappan culture: Sarasvati Sindhu doab

Vedic society as evidenced from Rigveda is part urban, but substantially pastoral, maritime, with the knowledge of the use of metals and organized in a ra_s.t.ra composed of assemblies. There are also references to warfare and an extensive elaboration of mythological constructions around the process called yajn~a. From an archaeological perspective, the ceramics found in the Sarasvati-Sindhu doab and also in the areas of the so-called Painted Grey Ware do not have any *external* parallels and all the cumulative evidence points to an indigenous evolution of pottery types. Archaeology, does not , therefore, support a theory of an invading culture. It should also be noted that the archaeological evidence of the settlement patterns seems to indicate a gradual migration away from the Sarasvati-Sindhu doab towards the Ganga-Yamuna doab and south towards the Gujarat.

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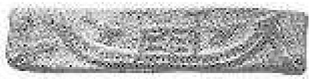
Contacts

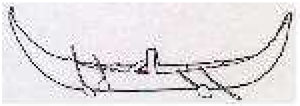
Waterways



Boat on a Mohenjodaro tablet

Silver model of a boat from the Royal Graves at Ur (*Antiquaries Journa*l, Oct. 1928, pl. LXII; Crawford, H., p. 119)

Silver model boat compared with a modern boat on the Tigris river.



"In antiquity bulk transport was only really possible by water, and for a region particularly concerned with the import of metals, stones and timber this is always important. It was also considerably cheaper and faster... The vessels suitable for Mesopotamia waterways were small craft, made of local materials, which varied little in form through their long recorded history and may be assumed to go back ultimately to the earliest settlements on river banks... Very little is known of the boats involved in the Gulf trade. It is not even known whether these boats were able to beat to windward as the later lateen rig allows them to do... It is, however, usually assumed that at sea rowing was only a secondary means of propulsion (cf. Ratnagar 1981: 160 ff.; Graeve 1981: 176 ff.) and that sails were widely used. Seals from Failaka confirm this and illustrate vessels rigged with a single square sail (Kjaerum 1983: nos. 162-6)... First, from at least the fourth millennium BC, there was the donkey or ass. Then, from some time in the third millennium BC, the domestication of the horse in the region brought the mule, an ass-horse hybrid. The camel does not appear to have been used as a pack-animal before the first millennium BC, outside eastern Iran (Compagnoni and Tosi 1978)...The mule goes at 3 to 4 mph, covering about 20 to 25 miles a day loaded..." (Moorey, 1994, opcit, p. 10).

"The canals were constantly used as highways. Beginning in the historical period, the sail seems to have existed as an auxiliary; in most cases boats were driven by oars or were towed...Every large city had a regulatory agency (called the 'Wharf', after the name of the place where it conducted its operations) for maritime transactions; from this we can deduce the degree of organization of river commerce. The commercial ships, often rented, that travelled up and down the canals did not have a large capacity; in the time of Dynasty III of Ur, mention is made of loads from 900 to 2,500 liters of grain. A bas-relief in the Louvre depicts a convoy of cedar logs from Lebanon lying off the coast of Phoenicia." (Maurice Daumas, opcit, pp. 131-132).

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Mesopotamian, Cretan-Minoan and Egyptian civilization areas.

At Ur on the banks of the Euphrates river, Mr. Woolley excavated a group of moderate-sized houses of burnt brick, strikingly comparable to the structures of the latest levels at Mohenjodaro. The levels of comfort enjoyed by the people of the Sarasvati Sindhu Civilization are seen from the Great Bath at Mohenjodaro, the roomy houses, wells, bathrooms, and elaborate drainage systems.

"...taken as a whole, the religion of the indus people is so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguishable from still living Hinduism or at least from that aspect of it which is bound up with animism and cults of S'iva and the Mother Godess--still the two most potent forces in popular worship. Among the many revelations that Mohenjodaro and Harappa have had in store for us, none perhaps is more remarkable than this discovery that S'aivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world." (Marshall, 1931: vol.1; vi-vii; Dilip K. Chakrabarti, 1995, *The archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, Delhi, OUP, p. 13).

"In each of these river valleys, on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates as on those of the Karun, the Helmand or the Indus, mankind may be assumed to have had equal chances of development, and it is natural to suppose that progress in one direction or another was being made in all these regions simultaneously and doubtless in many others besides. If this view, which is surely the most rational one, be accepted, if we regard this wide-flung civilization of the Afrasian belt as focussed in various centres and developed by the mutual efforts of different peoples, we shall better understand how, despite its general homogeneity, it nevertheless comprised many widely differing branches, each of which, in its own sphere, was able to maintain its local and individual character ."(Marshall, 1931: vol.1; viii)

Gordon Childe expresses the same sentiment. The civilization "representes very perfect adjustment of human life to a specific environment, that can only have resulted from years of patient effort. And, it has endured; it is already specifically Indian and forms the basis of modern Indian culture.

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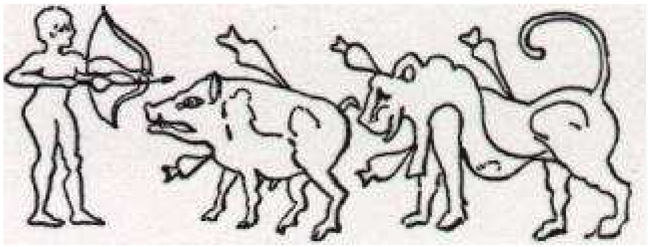
In architecture and industry, still more in dress and religion, Mohenjodaro reveals features that haave always been characteristic of historical India (Childe, 1952: 183-4).

C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (1972) notes trade as a possible causative factor of urban growth of the civilization, pointing to the significance of sites such as Tepe Yahya and Sahr-i-Sokhta in southeast Persia with control over certain natural resources (steatite at Tepe yahya; lapis lazuli and alabaster at Shahr-i-Sokhta) and functioning perhaps as either manufacturing or distributing centres of finished products based on these resources. M. Tosi (1973: 21-53) calls this an 'early urban interaction sphere' in place ca. 3000 BCE in Turkmenia, Seistan and south Afghanistan.



Susa, cylinder seal; boar and lion hunting; (Contenau, *Manuel d'archeologie orientale*, Picard, 1927, vol. I, p.50; from Legrain, *Memoires de la Delegation en Perse*, Vol. XVI, Fig. 243). This cylinder seal indicates the use of a bow and arrow in conflict; it would appear that the pictorials of the boar and the lion are also related to weapons used in conflict. The pictorials on the inscriptions of the Sarasvati Sindhu civilization seem to denote metallic weapons.

The archaeological evidence points to interactions among SSVC, Arabian Peninsula, Elam, and Bactria Margiana Archaeological Complex.

Arabian Peninsula and Oman

The architectural complexes of the Arabian Peninsula (e.g. Hili) and some sites such as Dashly are relatable to the post-R.gvedic man.d.ala-s in Bha_rata.

Dr.Sarianidi's recent work has focused on the Late Bronze Age sites, dating to the first half of the second millennium BC, located in the ancient delta of the Murgab River, in the southeastern part of present day Turkmenistan. Gonur Tepe was the largest of dozens of scattered Bronze Age sites established here in the early second millennium. Gonur appears to have served as an administrative and religious center for the region, and as a hub for long distance trade.

View of the palace complex at Gonur North, Turkmenistan. At the right, diggers shovel loosened earth from the pits to expose the ancient mud-brick walls.

Hili 8. Mud-brick tower and surroundings, at Hili, al-Ain oasis, early third millennium BCE. This square, then later circular, tower is curounded by a ditch and small houses beyond it; it was in use for more than one millennium. Its function is under

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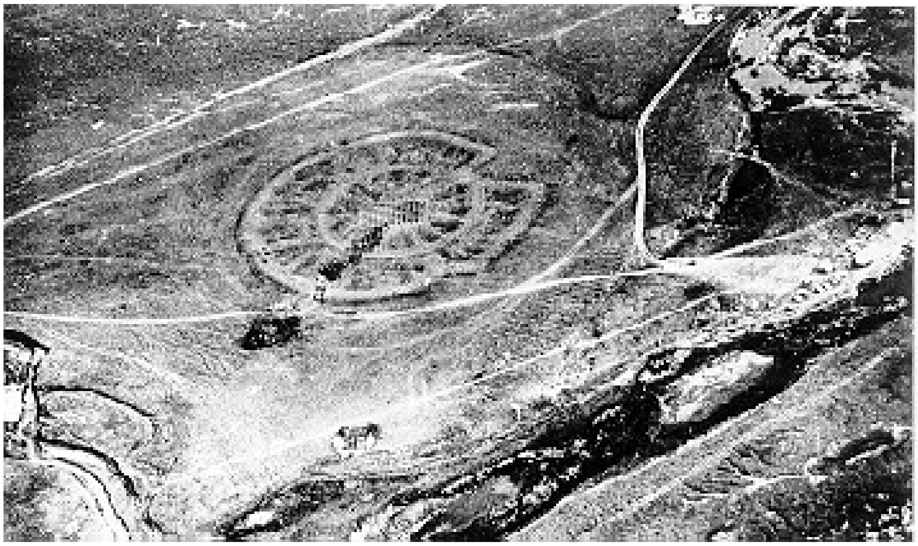
question; it may have served to store the villagers' goods, or it may have been the residence of a local ruler. French Archaeological expedition in Abu Dhabi Emirate. (p. 1339). The inspiration for the architectural style at Dashly could have come from Hili in Magan (see map). At Hili in Oman Peninsula, the oldest mud-built towers were constructed at the end of the fourth millennium. These towers are seen at other sites with stone or mud-brick construction (e.g., Bidiya, Tell Abraq, Maysar and Bat; at Bat, one of the five towers is preserved upto seven meters (23 feet) in height. The building of the second period at Hili (c. 2700-2000 BCE) is a circular tower twenty-two meters (about 73 feet) in diameter. At the end of the fourth millennium, Oman copper was exported to Mesopotamia for tool-making. Hili and other coastal sites such as Umm an-Nar were copper areas.



City of Arkaim was discovered in 1987, in Cheliabinskoblast privince, on the eastern slopes of Ural, "in the region where a big irrigating system was built", according to archaeologist G.B. Zdanovich**. In the region were discovered 17 cities and 21 fortifications dated to ca. 3rd millennium to mid-2nd millennium BCE.**

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Arcaim Settlement Site Bronze Age c. 2000 B.C.Western Siberia

“Arkaim had two protective circular walls and two circles of standard dwellings separated by a street around a central square. The external wall, 160 m in diameter and 4 m wide, was built from specially selected soil that had been packed into timber frames before being faced with adobe bricks (Zdanovich 1997). On the interior, houses abutted the wall and were situated radially with their doors exiting to the circular internal street…Possibly this was a location where about 1,000 to 2,000 peoplearistocracy (and craftsmen) gathered periodically to perform rituals.”
http://www.csen.org/koryakova2/Korya.Sin.Ark.html

The city has 3 rings of defensive walls one around the other and the intermediate surface between the rings is crossed by radial walls. The centre of the city has a small rectangular square with orientation Norheast-Southwest. P. Globa notes: "now it is clear that ARKAIM is a city, a temple and an observatory. It's structure reminds of a huge horoscope with a diameter of 160 m, with clearly outlined 12 zodiacal signs and 28 moon signs."

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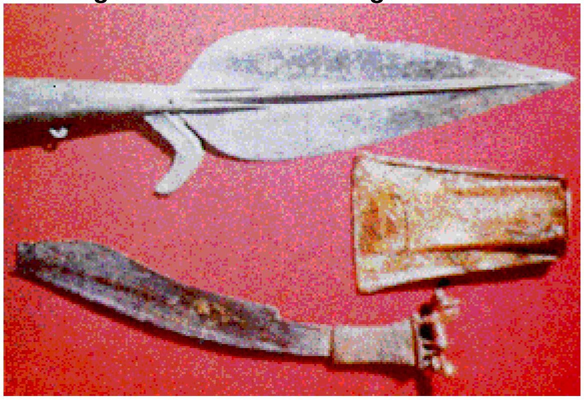
Stone moulds used for metal casting.
http://www.csen.org/koryakova2/Korya.Bronze.html **(3rd to 1st half of 2nd millennium BCE)**
The ring stones recall the ring-stones found in Dholavira and Mohenjo-daro



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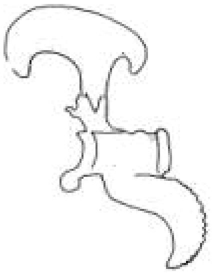
Semina Turbino Bronzes Spearhead, Axe head, and knife with standing zoomorph on handle

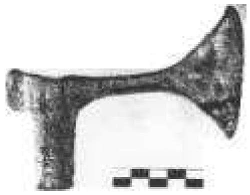
Apparently around the mid 2nd millennium B.C. the new metallurgical provinces-- Eurasian, Caucasian, European, and Central-Asiatic--were established. This was accompanied by population movement and the deformation of various cultures. It is very important that in all these provinces the new tin and poly-compounded technology was associated with the Seima-Turbino phenomenon.

"**The Gulf and the Indus Civilization**….In various parts of the Oman peninsula, including the inland region, distinctive Indus micaceous red pottery is not unusual. In some cases hundreds of shards have been found at one site, a few of which bear signs of the still-undeciphered writing of the Indus. The content of these vessels – usually storage jars – is unknown. Other Harappan-imported objects include a few stone weights, and from Ras al-Junayz, the easternmost site in the Oman Peninsula, a copper stamp seal and an ivory comb…**The Dilmun Civilization**..Qal'at…Persian Gulf and later Dilmun stamp seals…an area larger than 20 hectares (50 acres) was protected by a walled enclosure; it included a large storeroom, private houses, and a workshop for stamp seals…At Barbar, the earliest temple dates from about 2200 and was in use during City I and Early City II…Failaka Island…located twenty kilometers (12 miles) off Kuwait City…Occupation begain in the late third millennium…Remains include a settlement and a towerlike building, now seen as a temple…and a copper workshop… Graves in Oman have yielded bronze objects including spearheads and large blades…



Drawing of middle Elamite seal impression from Choga Zanbil. Louvre Museum, Paris.
Drawing of a metal axe from Bactria. After Francois Vallat. (p. 1007).
Marlik Tepe. Tomb36: gold vessel. Shapes are characteristic of Mitannian period art and show Mesopotamian influences. National Museum, Iran. Note the one-horned bull with wings. (The bull is similar to those shown on SSVC inscribed objects).

Oman bronze axe-head (1st millennium BCE). A shaft would have been inserted into the hollow cylindrical part to form a handle. Archaeology in the United Arab Emirates, Vol. 4 (1985).



"Excavations in Iran have yielded Proto-Elamite (late fourth early third millennium BCE) finds from Susa (biblical Shushan, modern Shush) and elsewhere, but thus far no significant architecture. Many interesting sealings, inscribed tablets, and small finds from Susa throw light on the Proto-Elamite civilization. The fourth-millennium tablets are already inscribed with pictographic signs, which by their very nature cannot be read phonologically. All these records appear to be economic texts – delivery notes or orders, receipts, and vouchers. Besides numerical signs, there are pictographic signs in the shape of animals, pots, boxes, and utensils – in all, about one hundred fifty basic signs that could be combined in a multitude of ways. A syllabic writing system evolved from these pictographs – in Elam as a linear script with approximately eighty signs, fully developed by around 2500…How far

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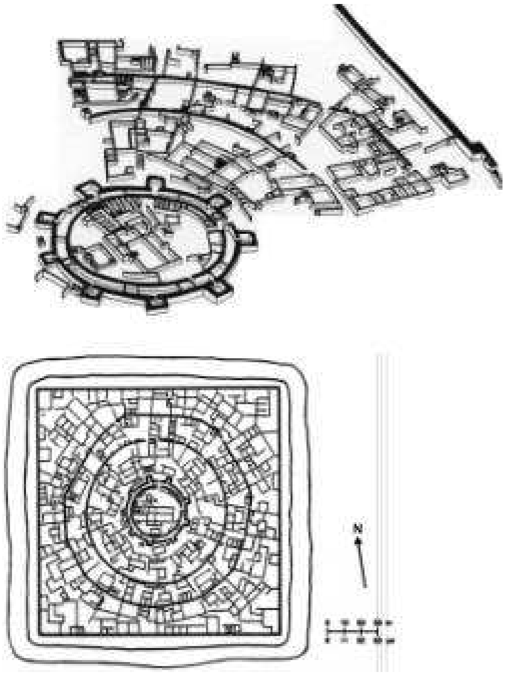
the Proto-Elamite state extended toward the east is not yet known….An archive of inscribed clay tablets and Proto-Elamite cylinder seals indicates that Tepe Sialk was a trade station for the people from Khuzestan. The excavations at Tepe Yahya yielded similar evidence. Tepe Sialk V, contemporary with Tell Iblis II, held rich finds of Central Asian turquoise and Indian carnelian, as well as ivory, which demonstrates the wide-reaching trade of the inhabitants. The flourishing culture and trade of Iran under Proto-Elamite rule collapsed in the early third millennium for reasons not yet fully understood. **During the following centuries there were recurring wars between the Mesopotamians and Elamite armies, according to Sumerian sources…**

"Third Dynasty of Ur. Shulgi conquered Khuzestan and campaigned repeatedly against the Elamites from Anshan. In Susa he built a temple rich in offerings to the god Inshushinak. From this temple, we have a particularly interesting ceremonial battle-ax decorated in early 'animate style' and provided with a dedicatory inscription of Shulgi. Since its peacock design points far to the east, the Sumerians had probably taken it as booty during their raids against Anshan…

"Peoples to the East and North. The third millennium was a relatively warm period of abundant precipitation on the agricultural plain of southern Turkenistan. This climate facilitated the creation of an urban civilization that developed in two phases, Namazga IV and V. The latter phase was influenced by the Harappan culture, as evidenced by imported seals at Altintepe and by a writing system similar to the Indus script…In the Tedzen Oasis and in Bactria (modern Afghanistan, southern Tadzhikistan, and Uzbekistan) there were similar settlements. During the second half of the third millennium these regions were connected with Elam…In addition to Elamite influence iin the late third millennium, a major stream of cultural borrowing from the Indus Valley may also be observed. Excavations on the southern bank of the upper Amu Darya (ancient Oxus River) have revealed a group of Indus settlements near Shortugai, indicating relations between ancient India and the cities of southern Turkmenistan.

"In Bactria there have been no systematic excavations for the time before 2200. A few groups of finds, such as gold and silver vessels from the Fullol hoard, indicate the existence of earlier cultures. At Sarazm, to the east of Samarkand, a trading colony of the archaic Turkmenistan culture founded during the fourth millennium was discovered. As far as we know, the Bactrian Bronze Age began about 2200 with the Sapalli Tepe culture (until approximately 1800), followed first by the Dsharkutan culture (1800-1500) and then by the Molali Tepe culture. With the end of the Molali Tepe culture around 1350 the Bactrian Bronze Age came to an end. The Sapalli ceramics are similar to those from the southeastern Caspian region found at Tureng Tepe, Tepe Hissar, and other sites…



Dashly 3; round buildings,, isometric projection (top) and plan (bottom). After Viktor Sarianidi (p. 1061).

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"Building number 3 excavated in the Dashly Oasis …we have a few inner structures within an almost square courtyard surrounded by a wall, in this case a double wall with a covered corridor. In the middle of each side there abuts a T-shaped corridor, but instead of a second T, at each of the corners of the quadrangle there are two 'hooks' (to be sure, half Ts). **A wall with an enormous gate-building surrounds the entire comlex, which can only be understood as a mandala, a cosmic image from the ancient Indian tradition. This was probably the residence of a Proto-Indian god-king whose royal palace was surrounded by the architecturally reproduced 'four quarters of the world,' a concept also familiar in Mesopotamia.** In the same oasis was found an almost square urban layout of the later Bronze Age. Incorporated into the walled suare were four circles, the innermost of which consisted of a ring corridor with nine protruding towers and massive gate. Within stood a fire-temple. The outer rings were made up of dwellings. Numerous tombs were found within the buildings at Dashly and Sapalli Tepe. The funerary gifts from these tombs help to date the illicitly excavated Bactrian bronzes…Material from excavations at the rich cemetery at Marlik, south of the Caspian Sea, revealed, on the one hand, strong influences from Mesopotamia, and on the other, many traits and motifs reminiscent of Bactria…"

[Burchard Brentjes, The history of Elam and Achaemenid Persia: an overview, in: Jack M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. I, pp. 1001-1021].

Bactria Margiana Archaeological Complex and Makran Coast

Axes. "It transpired that in the **2nd millennium BCE** there existed in the territory of ancient Bactria a highly-developed, largely original culture of the ancient-oriental type. A close, or rather identical culture spread at that time through the southern regions of Central Asia, particularly in Margiana, which gave grounds for singling out a special Bactrian-Margian archaeological complex…Bactrian axes are divided into two types according to their functional purpose: 1) utility-oriented and 2) ritual. Outstanding amont the former are adzes (fig. 4.5,6) with direct analogies in the valley of the Indus, just as in the southern regions of Central Asia and in Iran of the late Bronze Age. Unfortunately, axes of more characteristic shape are so far unknown in the Indus valley, such, for example, as in Bactria, where spur-head axes are widespread (fig. 4.1-4). In turn, Bactrian cultic axes, especially because of their characteristic heads, caast in the form of a 'cock tail, leave no doubt whatever about their genetic affinity with similar, so-called Luristan axes (Schaeffer 1948: fig. 265.8). Heads. Copper-bronze heads, most probably from combat weapons, originate from both scientific and predatory excavations. They are hollow, slightly curved, rounded articles, often containing inside the remnants of wood and a transversal pin that secured them…article, probably the head of a mace, is cast as a

Fig. 5.

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massive cylinder with spikes and thickenings at the ends. (fig. 4.2), resembling to a certain degree similar, but more complicated spiked Luristan heads (Amiet 1976: nos. 5,6)…[**Metal Pins in Bactria**. After Fig. 2, Sarianidi, 1979].

"**Metal pins**…a pin with a head in the shape of two sitting rams is known from Dashly 3 (fig. 2.10), which well justifies the attribution to the Bronze Age of the unstratified zoomorphic-headed pins as well. If we look at the pins from the Indus valley, we shall see at once that sufficiently widespread there were simple pinheads; spiral, bi-spiral, looped. At the same time single specimens with zoomorphic heads are known from both Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Of special interest is a pin with a head in the form of seated goats with helically bent horns (Mackay 1937: pl. C3), and whose overall iconographic posture closely resembles that of the above mentioned specimen from Dashly 3. If we look now at the figured pins of Bactria, it is easy to see that *en masse* they depict mountain rams and goats. Usually shown is only the head with trenchantly curved large horns (fig. 2.2,5,8), and there are also fuller images depicting the animal quiety seated (fig. 2.1) or standing in a majestic attitude (fig. 2.4,6). Lastly well known are the compositions showing a sheep likcing a suckling lamb (fig. 2.3) or a cow looking fondly at her calf. Then, individual specimens are known of pin heads in the shape of birds (fig. 2.7). The wide dissemination of pins with zoomorphic heads was repeatedly noted in the system of the Near East, and south-west Iran is believed to have chronological priority in this respect over all other regions. At the same time we have already pointed to the similarity of pins with zoomorphic heads in the valley of the Indus and in north-east Iran (Khan 1964: fig. 4.1.3), which seems to have been additionally corroborated by the latest Bactrian material. Stylistically related pin heads are known in Hissar (Schmidt 1937: pl. XLVIII), yet they are not found at Sialk, which in some measure hinders the search for possible analogies further westward. Significant in this light are pins with zoomorphic heads from the burials of Luristan (Amiet 1976: figs. 161-66), where protomes, as well as whole figurines occur, mostly goats (to a lesser degree birds), which stylistically and iconographically closely resemble the Bactrian ones….Equally significant are the Bactrian pins with heads in the shape of a clenched fist (fig. 2.11-12), which find parallels in similar pins of Mesopotamia, including some from the royal tombs of Ur (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 13, fig. 11). The available materials trace the Iranian-Afghan-Indian ties, which went not only from west to east, but in other directions, too, only in the most general form…

"**Glyptics.** ..Among the Indian amulets there are some that depict seated animals with their heads looking back over the shoulder both at Chanhu-daro (Mackay 1943: pl. L1) and in Bactria (fig. 5.14), which is hardly accidental…at Harappa (Vats 1940: pl. XCI), in Margiana (Sarianidi 1976a: figs. 7-8; 27.1) and Bactria (Sarianidi 1976b) there are lozenge-shaped amulet-seals depicting an eagle in the heraldic posture, not infrequently accompanied by snakes, which removes all doubt as to the reality of contacts between these areas. The presence of similar carvings at Tepe Yahya (Lamberg-Karlovssky 1970: fig. 22) not only traces a southern (in addition to the northern) route of dissemination, but singles out south-west Iran as the most probable center of origin of this canonic subject. It is perhaps only the smallness of the collection of the Jhukar-type amulets that prevents their fuller comparison with the Murgab-style amulet-seals, which appeared practically at the same time in both these large regions of southwest Asia…tessellated alabaster mosaic was encountered at Dashly 3 (fig. 5.17), individual details of which represented the humped bulls; surfaces were decorated with scratched drawings of the trefoil, exactly imitating analogous adornments on the clothes of the well-known statue of the 'priest' from Mohenjodaro. Also found in Bactria were small steatite vessels in the form of a kidney (fig. 5.16), sometimes decorated with branches bearing the leaves of the papal, the famous tree of the Indian subcontinent." [Victor I. Sarianidi, 1979, New

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finds in Bactria and Indo-Iranian Connections, in: Maurizio Taddei, ed., *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, Naples, p. 652].

The parallel with the Jhukar phase of SSVC is instructive. **The movement was out of SSVC towards BMAC and north-westwards**; some Jhukar people intruded from the west into Bactria and into SSVC in Late Bronze Age, virtually in the final phases of the Late Harappan period, i.e. in the 2nd millennium BCE the period of most of the BMAC finds.

"As happens with most discoveries, much was made of a somewhat different pottery-style (at Jhukar), and Mackay, who excavated Chanhudaro and Piggott, who wrote the first ever all-inclusive account of protohistoric India, overemphasized this single culture-constituent and treated the Jhukar pottery as signifying an altogether different culture called Jhukar Culture, with a break between it and the Harappan (Mackay, 1943; Piggott, 1950). Tha this indeed may not have been the case was often mooted, but has now been categorically established by fresh excavations at Jhukar itself by MR Mughal (1992). At this site, below the early historical levels, with a break between them and the preceding ones, Mughal encountered a continuous occupation which he divided into three phases. (The natural soil was not reached because of the high water-table). In all the three phases Mature Harappan pottery and other associated artifacts were met with, though there was a decreas in them as one came up. However, more important is the fact that the characteristic Jhukar style pottery occurred in the uppermost phase and did not account for more than 8 percent of the total pottery assemblage (Mughal, 1992, 215). It is thus, absolutely clear that: (i) there was an occupational and cultural continuity from the Mature Harappan times to those when the Jhukar-style pottery made its appearance, and (ii) there is hardly any justifiable case for treating the so-called Jhukar Culture as an entity quite separate from and having nothing to do with the Mature Harappan. No pottery-styles or for that matter styles in other artifacts are eternal. They do undergo changes. Continuity coupled with change, whether involving evolution or devolution is one thing, whereas discontinuity followed by subsequent appearance of an altogether alien outfit is another. The Jhukar Culture falls in the former category." (BB Lal, 1999, Decline, last phase and legacy of Indus Civilization in: GC Pande, ed., *The Dawn of Indian Civilization upto 600 BCE*, Delhi, Centre for Studies in Civilizations, p. 445).
"Bronze Age Central Asia…The local craftsmen fashioned golden and silver vessels and carved small composite statues of seated females and mythical animals from limestone and chlorite, sometimes inlaying them with carnelian and lapis lazuli. Metal weaponry also advanced rapidly during the Late Bronze Age, the Central Asian types appearing to exceed in quality and quantity those known from the Harappan (Indus Valley) civilization of South Asia." [After Philp L. Kohl, Central Asia and the Caucasus in the Bronze Age, in: Jack M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, p. 1057]

Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1880 suggested that Dilmun of the Sumerian and Akkadian texts might be identified with Bahrain island. This was on the basis of a stone cone found by Captain Durand during an archaeological survey of Bahrain in 1879, but later lost. The text related to the temple of Inzak, elsewhere known as the god of Dilmun. (Captain Durand, Extracts from Report on the Islands and Antiquities of Bahrain, with notes by Major-General Sir. H.C. Rawlinson, JRAS, N.S. 12 (1880): 189-227, with two maps. Also suggested by Fr. Hommel, Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients, 1904/1926, p. 24, 270.) Since then various identifications have been suggested such as: encompassing Saudi Arabian mainland in the area called Dilmun, Iranian side of the Persian Gulf as constituting Dilmun, Al-Qurna in southern Iraq and the Indus Valley (S.N.Kramer). All these identifications suggest that not all of them are valid for all periods of Mesopotamian

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history. Throughout Mesopotamian history, however, Dilmun has been an important trade centre, and 'one of the remote areas which was at times within the reach of Mesopotamian political influence. Noticeable among the early texts mentioning Dilmun is that of Urnanshe who had wood transported to Mesopotamia from Dilmun (ca. 2500 BC). In the same early period copper is known to hae been exported from Dilmun to Sumer. About 2100 BC Urnammu of the 3rd dynasty of Ur reopened the Arabian Gulf trade, this time with direct contact with Magan, from which copper was exported to Mesopotamia. The Dilmun trade flourished in the Larsa period (ca. 2000-1763 BC), but then died out. After an interim of 400 years Kassite influence appears in Dilmun (early 14th century BC). It seems that at this time the only export article was dates. Under Sargon of Assyria (end of 8th century BC) Upe_ri, king of Dilmun, is recorded to have sent tribute to the Assyrian empire. In 544 BC, Dilmun disappears from Mesopotamian history when, according to an administrative document, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, had a governor there. Dilmun is also mentioned in Sumerian literary texts as a famous place of prosperity and happiness, and even of eternal life, with the result that comparisons with the Biblical paradise have been made.' (Bendt Alster, Dilmun, Bahrain, and the alleged paradise in Sumerian Myth and Literature, in: Daniel T. Potts (ed.), Dilmun: New studies in the archaeology and early history of Bahrain, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1983, pp. 39-74). (See also: Daniel Potts, Dilmun: Where and When? Dilmun: Journal of the Bahrain Historical and Archaeological Society, 11 (1983): 15-19; Theresa Howard-Carter, The tangible evidence for the earliest Dilmun, JCS, 33 (1981): 210-223; S.N.Kramer, Quest for Paradise, Antiquity, 37 (1963): 112-113)

On the northern coast of Bahrain, at Barbar, a Sumerian temple, which had been rebuilt three times was found. The dates for the contruction events are estimated to be: beginning of third millennium B.C., middle of the third millennium BC and for the third event, ca. 2200-2000 BC. In the first temple there were two staircases descending to a square well. This was retained in all the three phases. Peder Mortensen suggested, based on the similarity with the Khafajah and al-'Uaid temples, that the temple was for godess Ninhursag. The mother-godess plays an important role in the Sumerian Dilmun myth, Enki and Ninhursag. (Peder Mortensen, Kuml 1956: 189-198, 1970: 385-398).

Indus valley type seals and cubical chert weights were found. (T.G. Bibby, Kuml 1970: 345-353; cf. Michael Roaf, Weights on the Dilmun standard, Iraq 44 (1982): 137:141). A bronze mirror handle was also found in the Barbar temple suggesting a link with the Kulli culture in South Baluchistan (N.Rao, Kuml 1969: 218-220). "....as far as the third millennium BC is concerned, the cultural relations with the early civilizations in the Indus valley and southern Iran seem to have been much more outspoken than those with Mesopotamia. (M.Tosi, Dilmun, Antiquity, 45 (1971): 21-25). Yet, as far as the early second millennium BC is concerned, a cultural setting has certainly been found within which the identification of Dilmun with Bahrain makes good sense... There is now wide agreement among most, but not all scholars, that from the middle of the third millennium BC, Magan and Meluhha are to be found east of Mesopotamia along the coast of the Arabian Gulf or the Arabian Sea, whereas later, from the middle of the secon dmillennium BC, Egypt, Nubia or Ethiopia must be considered. (I.J.Gelb, Makkan and Meluhha in Early Mesopotamian Sources, RA 64 (1970): 1-8; E. Sollberger, The Problem of Magan and Meluhha, Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology 8-9 (1968-69): 247-250; John Hansman, A Periplus of Magan and Meluhha, BOAS 36 (1973): 554-587; E.C.L. During Caspers and A. Govindakutty, R. Thapar's Dravidian Hypothesis for the Location of Meluhha, Dilmun and Makan, JESHO 21 (1978): 114-145.) The cuneiform texts certainly give the impression that at least originally they (Makan and Meluhha) were located in the same direction as Dilmun, but farther away-- and later, remembrance of this direction was

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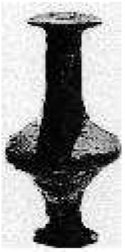
demonstrably kept alive, which makes the matter rather complicated. Archaeologically it makes sense to speak of Bahrain as a station on the way to Magan and Meluhha if these two were located east of Bahrain, as the most important cultural relations of Bahrain were Indus and Iran rather than Egypt. The use of Indus measuring standards in Bahrain clearly testifies to this, and was taken for granted by the Mesopotamian traders... The most important suggestins that have been made for Magan are Makran on the Iranian coast, and the Oman peninsula. As copper has been found in the Oman, the latter possibility seems highly likely. This, however, has been questioned by W. Heimpel, according ot whom diorite statues of Naramsin and Gudea said to be made of stones from Magan cannot have come from Oman, because diorite stones big enough for these statues are reported not to exist in Oman. As a possible source he suggests a position 50 miles NNE of Bandar Abbas on the northern side of the Arabian Gulf. Meluhha is to be found along the coast of Baluchistan and the Indus valley.

"...there was a temple of Enzak, the god of Dilmun, on Failaka... it was Failaka that was Dilmun?...the so-called a_lik Dilmun, the sea-faring merchants of Ur... The returning merchants used to offer a share of their goods or a silver model of their boat to the temple of the godess Ningal, and he texts tell about partnerships and the sharing of profit and losses in a way which would not fit such an easy travel as thaf from Ur to Failaka. The distance from Aba_da_n to Failaka is no more than 60 nautical miles (111 km.) and could hardly be considered a great enterprise... Another possibility would be to suggest that Dilmun was a designation not only of Bahrain, but also of other parts of the Arabian Gulf area, among which Failaka would be counted... Dilmun is likely to the name of a rather large geographical area, including Bahrain, Failaka, Tarut, and certain parts of the Arabian littoral (During Caspers and Govindakutty, JESHO 21 (1978): 130; cf. the map in D.O.Edzard and G.Farber, Repertoire Geographique des Textes Cuneiformes 2, Wiesbaden, 1974)..." (Bendt Alster, opcit., 1983, p. 41).

Central Asia: Altyn-depe and Parkhai



Bactria; cosmetic flacon, fig. 1.2 and fig. 1.6 (V.Sarianidi, p. 646); there is an exact replica of the flacon with a chequered body and distinctive base, fig. 1.6 at Chanhudaro (Mackay 1943: pl. LXXIII 39). Similar falcons have been found in Luristan.

"It transpired that in the 2nd millennium BC there existed in the territory of ancient Bactria a highly-developed, largely original culture of the ancient-oriental type. A close, or rather identical culture spread at that time through the southern regions of central Asia, particularly in Margiana, which gave grounds for singlign out a special Bactrian-Margian Archaeological Complex (BMAC). The basic features of this complex are: the coexistence of non-fortified settlements and of rectangular fortresses with round corner turrets. The latter belonged to individual families or clans... Occurring in sufficient quantities, along with stone and flint tools and wapons, are copper and bronze ones. These are sickles, knives, adzes, awls, razors, daggers, massive spearheads, battle axes; of the ornaments there are mirrors, toilet pins, cosmetic falcons, bracelets, ear-rings, rings... At present we may regard as an established fact the existence of an Iranian-Turkmenian metallurgical province where, beginning from the turn of the 5th and 4th millennia BC, uni-typical wares take shape and exist for a long time. There is every ground to assume the dissemination from it of metal-works (celts, daggers, pins) and specific forms of earthenware (stemmed vases, saucers, etc.) in the eastern direction down to the vally of the Indus, by way of exchange, trade and cultural contacts. This period embraces the existence of the

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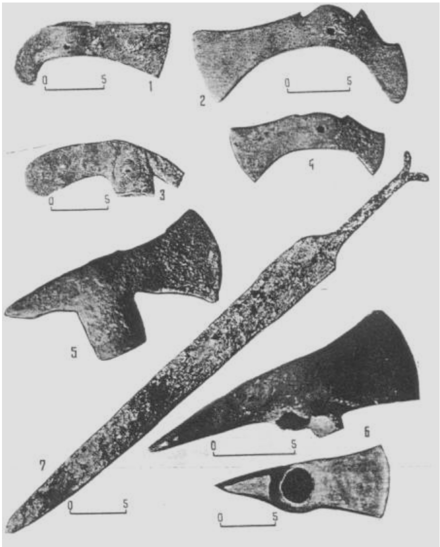
Harappan civilization and does not presuppose the arrival of any new tribes. This is strikingly proved by the Harappa culture itself, which demonstrates a continuous line of development without any invasions from outside... We shall merely remark that southwestern Iran and possibly Caucasus emerge as a zone where numerous metal articles come to be produced (mid- 2nd millennium BC), while Iranian Khorassan is doubtlessly the main venue for their penetration into the souther areas of central Asia, Bactria and possibly the valley of the Indus river." (Viktor I. Sarianidi, 1979, New Finds in Bactria and Indo-Iranian Connections, pp. 643-659, in: *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, Naples).

Bactria; axes [(i)utilitarian: figs. 4.5,6; with analogies in the Indus valley, southern regions of central Asia and in late bronze age Iran). Unique are the spur-head axes in Bactria (fig. 4.1-4); (ii) cultic: so-called because of their characteristic heads, cast in the form of a 'cock tail' which have parallels in Luristan axes (Schaeffer 1948: fig. 265.8)] Fig. 4.2 is perhaps the head of a mace, cast as a massive cylinder with spikes and thickenings at ends resembling similar spiked Luristan heads (Amiet 1976: nos. 5,6).



Bactria; metal pins; fig 2.10 is a pin with a head in the shape of two sitting rams; this resembles a pin was found in Mohenjodaro with a head in the form of seated goats with helically bent horns (Mackay 1937: pl. C3). Pins with zoomorphic heads is typically noticed in southwest Iran and the Near East. Fig. 2.11-12 show pins with heads in the shape of clenched fist with parallels of similar pins in Mesopotamian royal tombs of Ur (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 13, fig.11). Good examples of Iranian-Afghan-Indian ties.

Pin-heads (copper) with animal motifs. Mohenjo-

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daro [After Pl.. LV in SR Rao]

In the Bundahis.n 'the lofty Hukar, through which springs the water of Ardvisu_r' is called the 'chief of summits'. (GBd. XVII.18, BTA, 155). This mountain was held to be the highest point on earth. The Hara_ peak is given the epithet Hukairya 'of good activity' (Pahlavi Hukar); Haoms is said to worship Mithra 'on the highest Peak on high Hara_, which is called Hukairya by name' (Yt. 10.88). Yima sacrifices to individual gods on Hukairya (Yt. 5.25, 9.8; 15.15). River S'utudri_, a tributary and anchorage river of River Sarasvati_ originated from the Ma_nasarovar glacier of Mt. Kailas. It is possible that the Peak of Hara_ refers to Mt. Kailas. In the tradition of Bha_rata, Sume_ru was in the centre of the region inhabited by people. Khotanese Sakas who became Buddhist used the name, 'Peak of Hara_ (ttaira haraysa)' to identify Sume_ru mountain. (Bailey, *Khotanese Texts IV*, Cambridge, 1961, 12). *Harahvaiti_ the river is as large as all the other streams together which flow upon the earth. (Yt. 5.3 = Yt. 13.6) and the river poured down from the Peak of Hara_ into Vourukas.a. 'All the edges in the sea Vourukas.a are troubled, all the centre is disturbed, when Aredvi_ Su_ra_ Ana_hita_ flows forth upon them, when he pours forth upon them' (Yt. 5.4).

From the height Hukairya to the Sea Vourukasha

Anahita (Avestan) Nahid (Persian) [in full Aredvi-Sura-Anahita from ared to grow straight or high, expand + sura strong, powerful + anahita undefilable from a not + ahit unclean] The Avestan godess of the waters dwelling in the region of the stars; similar to the Hindu Ganga, she is described as "the large river, known afar, that is as large as the whole of the waters that run along the earth; that runs powerfully from the height Hukairya down to the sea Vouru-Kasha [the waters of space]. All the shores of the sea Vouru-Kasha are boiling over, all the middle of it is boiling over, when she runs down there, when she streams down there, she, Ardvi Sura Anahita, who has a thousand cells and a thousand channels: the extent of each of those cells, of each of those channels is as much as a man can ride in forty days, riding on a good horse. From this river of mine [Ahura Mazda's] alone flow all the waters that spread all over the seven Karshvares [the seven globes of the earth-chain]; this river of mine alone goes on bringing waters, both in summer and in winter" (Aban Yasht 3-5). http://theosociety.org/pasadena/etgloss/am-ani.htm

A metal compartmented stamp shows a female wearing a long skirt seated on the back of a one-horned dragon (like a lion-griffin found in Bactria two millennia later).[After *Bactria*, fig. 11, p. 137].

Bronze belt stud, 2200-1800 BC, Northern Afghanistan Bronze Age, depicting a winged female figure poised between two griffins. The dove and the peacock are her sacred animals.

aredvi_ su_ra_ ana_hita_: female Yazad personifying water. Ana_hita_: immaculate, undefiled, void of impurity, (pure); epithet of Aredvi_ Su_ra_ who (is) maiden, independent, tall, upright, well-shaped, and beautiful. The ancient Persian water godess, fertility godess, and patroness of women, as well as a godess of war. She is called the healer; promoter of herd, home, country and the world; purifier of male seed and female womb; facilitator of child birth; increaser of milk in breasts; and above all, the Guardian of Waters.

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(Yasht 5.1-1342) Anahita was very popular and is one of the forms of the 'Great Godess' which appears in many ancient eastern religions (such as the Syrian/Phoenician godess Anath). She is associated with rivers and lakes, as the waters of birth. Anahita is sometimes regarded as the consort of Mithra. She resides in the starry regions (cf. Yt5.85, 88, 132). Also known as Aban Yazad. (Var: Arduisur).

According to Lommel (Anahita-Sarasvati, *Asiatica, Festschrift F. Weller*, Leipzig, 1954, 405-13), 'aredvi_' is an attribute, meaning 'moist, humid'. "The original name of the Indo-Iranian godess, he suggested, was Sarasvati_ "She who possesses waters". In India she continued to be worshipped by this name, which she gave there to a small but very holy river in Madhyades'a (the Punjab); whereas in Iran Sarasvati_ became, by normal sound-changes, *Harahvati_, a name preserved in the region called in Avestan Harakhvaiti_, and known to the Greeks as Arachosia -- a region rich in rivers and lakes. (Old Persian Harahuvati_, see Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* 1788). Originally, *Harahvati_ was the personification of the great mythical river which flows down from high Hara_ into the sea Vourukas.a, and is the source of all the waters of the world; and just at the wandering Iranians called great mountains near which they lived Hara_, and broad lakes Vourukas.a, so, it seems, they gave *Harahvati_'s name to life-giving rivers; and their Indian cousins did the same. (See Lommel, art. cit., 408)...The Avestan hymn to Aredvi_ Su_ra_ is one of the longest and apparently most ancient of the yas.ts. In it the godess is described as a beautiful strong maiden, clad in beaver skins (Yt. 5.129), who drives a chariot drawn by four horses -- wind (vayu-), rain, cloud and sleet. (Yt. 5.120). As one of the divinities who bring water she is worshiped as godess of fertility, who purifies the seed of all males, the wombs of all females, and makes the milk flow which nourishes the young. (Yt. 5.2). Like the Indian Sarasvati_, she nurtures crops and herds; but it seems less characteristic of a river godess that Aredvi_ also bestows rich material possessions -- horses and chariots, arms and household goods (Yt. 5.139) -- and that warriors pray to her to grant them victory in battle and destruction of foes. (Yt. 5.34 ff.)...Aredvi_ (Yas.t 5) is hailed as a godess, worthy of worship, bountiful to those who please her, stern towards those who do not, one who dwells in stately palaces (Yt. 5.101); but she is also the mythical river itself, "as great in bigness as all these waters which flow upon the earth" (Yt. 5.3). As a godess, she is essentially a godess of the waters, and like the Indian Sarasvati_ she is invoked with the A_pas, and in later times her hymn is simply called the 'Hymn to the waters', A_ba_n Yas.t. There is an ancient mantic link between water and wisdom; and priests and their pupils pray to Aredvi_ for wisdom and knowledge (Yt. 5.86; cf. v.91), while Sarasvati_ protects the study of the Vedas. Wisdom is also... an attribute of the Indian Varun.a, god of the waters, and of 'the Ahura' (i.e. *Vouruna) in Iran; and in the Pahlavi rendering of the Vahman Yas.t Zoroaster is himself represented as receiving from Ahura Mazda_ 'the wisdom of all-knowledge in the form of water' (khrad i_ harwisp-a_ga_hi_h pad a_b-kirb) (Zand-iVohuman Yas.t, III.5-7 ed. BTA, 8,103)...That the river Aredvi_ sprang from the summit of Hara_ was, it seems, generally known to the godess' devotees, and not merely a matter of priestly learning. It remained, morever, a part of her living cult for many generations, if a Greek inscription discovered in Asia Minor from Roman times has been rightly interpreted, for this appears to be dedicated to 'the great godess Anai_tis of high Hara_' (See R. Schmitt, 'BAPZOXAPA -- ein neues Ana_hita_ Epitheton aus Kappadokien', *Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gehbiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen, begrundet von A. Kuhn,* LXXXIV, 1970,m 207-10). From this mythical mountain Aredvi_ flows down upon the sea Vourukas.a, and other rivers carry her waters thence over all thelands. Rain, too, has its source in Vourukas.a, from which it is released each year by Tis.trya, god of the rain-star**.** He, it seems, is another Indo-Iranian divinity, whose name appears in the Vedas as Tis.ya; and the star which he personifies is usually identified as Sirius or Canis Major (although the problem of connecting the rising of the dog-star with a rainy season for the Indo-Iranians at any period has proved a difficult one: cf. S. H. Taqizadeh, 1938, *Old Iranian Calendars*, London, 22 with n.4)...'Then Tis.trya rises again from the sea Vourukas.a... and the bold... wind (va_ta-) drives the rain and cloud upon places, upon dwellings, upon the seven climes' (Yt. 8.32,33). One of the epithets particular to Tis.trya in the Avesta is khs.viwi-va_za- 'swift-flying'; and twice in his yas.t (Yt.

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8.6, 37) his going to the waters is compared, in its speed and directness, with the arrow shot of Erekhs.a, the 'best archer among the Iranians' (who in legend is held to have established the border of Iran by a stupendous bow-shot, which he died in making)."

The northernmost outpost of BMAC was Shortughai which is located in eastern Bactria. The BMAC is said to have collapsed around 1700 BCE with semblaces of the culture found at Tureng Tepe ca. 1600 BCE. [Lyonnet, B., 1994, 'Central Asia, the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians: a few reassessments from recent archaeological data', in: South Asian Archaeology 1993, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae Series B. 271, ed. A. Parpola and P. Koskikallio, Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, p. 429 notes: '...at Shortughai, as in Bactria and Margiana, peaceful contacts with the Andronovo culture start with Period II (Mature Harappan) and go on increasingly.' cf. Hiebert, F.T./Lamberg-Karlovsky, CC, 1992, 'Central Asia and the Indo-Iranian Borderlands', Iran, 30, pp. 3,12; Parpola, A., 1998, 'Aryan languages, archaeological cultures, and Sinking: Where did Proto-Iranian come into being and how did it spread, JIES, pp. 9,11]

Small parcels with twigs of ephedra have been found on the chest of bodies in burials of the Gumugou I culture southeast of the Taklamakan Desert, dating ca. 2000-1500 BCE. [Chen, K. and Hiebert, F., 1995, 'The late prehistory of Xinjiang in relation to its neighbors', *Journal of World Prehistory*, 9, pp. 253,257]

Large amounts of weapons found lead to a conclusion that the 'rulers' of BMAC were involved in warfare. [Hiebert/Lamberg-Karlovsky, 1992].

Sound change s>h, from Proto-Indic to Proto-Indo-Iranian

Burrow tries to provide a tortuous explanation for the etymologically related names found in Indo-Iranian borderlands with a sound change s>h. to indicate that Proto-Indo-Aryans settled in Iran and gave the names to the places using the sound shapes of the natives. Later, Iranian-speakers took over the names from the earlier Proto-Indo-Aryan population which by that time had migrated into Bha_rata. A straight-foward and simple explanation is that some Vedic speakers moved westwards from Bha_rata into and settled in the Iranian borderlands where the sound changes Sindhu - Hindu, Sarasvati - Haraxvaiti occurred over a period of time. [Burrow, T., 'The Proto- Indoaryans', *JRAS*, 1973, p. 126].

Let me cite Almut Hintze who argues against Burrow and in favour of his thesis that a sound change s>h occurred nearer 1500 BCE which affected the whole of Proto-Iranian and that the presence of Iranian people in East Iran in the middle of the second millennium BCE is suggested by both archaeological and linguistic evidence:

"This hypothesis (i.e. emergence of the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex was caused by the appearance of Indo-Iranian speakers, of Proto-Indo-Aryans in particular) could find some support from hydronomy. A number of geographical names of the Rigveda, especially river names, corresponds to etymologically related names in Avestan and Old Persian. These names are the Vedic river Rasa_, a tributary of the Indus, which has its etymological equivalent in the Avestan name of the semi-mythical Ranha_. [While Boyce, M., 1989, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, Vol. I: The Early Period. Leiden/New York, Brill (Handbuch der Orientalistik I 8.1.2.2A), p. 144 identifies the Avestan Ranha_ with the Jaxartes, Gnoli Gh., 1980, Zoroaster's Time and Homeland. 'A study on the origins of Mazdeism and Related problems. Naples, Istituto Universitario Orientale, seminario di studi asiatici, Series Minor VII, p. 64 locates it 'between the Ka_bul and the Kurram, in the region where it seems likely that the Vedic

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River Rasa_ flowed.'] Apart from this, there are also two Vedic river names, whose Avestan equivalents denote a district. [The principles of transposition of toponyms have been studied, with special reference to Iran, by Eilers, W., 1977, 'Einige Prinzipien toponymischer Ubertragung', Onoma 21, pp. 277-317].One of them is Vedic Sarayu, a river flowing into the Ganges, the Sarju-river of today. Its correspondent in Iranian is the thematic formation YAv Haro_iuua, OP Haraiva (<*Saraiua), NP Hare_, the present day region of Herat. The Vedic river name Sarasvati_ has its equivalent in Av. Haraxvaiti_, OP Harauvatis, the name of the country Arachosia. By contract, Ved. Sindhu and its Iranian correspondent YAv. Hindu or Hen.du and OP Hindu denote the same geographic entity, namely the country and its river. [As was shown by Hoffmann in several publications, the Av. form haraxvaiti instead of *haranvhaiti contains an Arachotic dialectical feature, which is also reflected in the Elamite writing Har-ku-(ut)-ti und har-ku-(ut)-tis. see R. Schmitt, R., 1974, 'Neue Wege zum Altpersischen', Gottinger Gelehrte Anzeigen 226, p. 101 n. 15; K. Hoffmann, K., 1976, Aufsatze zur Indoiranistik, vol. 2, Weisbaden, Reichert, p. 641. Eilers 1977, p. 288 assumes that haraxvaiti was primarily a river name which was used later also for the country.][In RV 10.64.9 the three river names Sarasvati_, Sarayu and Sindhu occur next to each other. The Vedic expression sapta sindhavah (RV 8.24.27) corresponds to Av. hapta hendu (Vd. 1.18).]... ...there are many words in East-Iranian dialects beginning with s- (<PIE *k) before a vowel. On the other hand, even less convincing is the assumption that Proto-Indo-Aryans and Iranians would have given the names to these places independently from each other. It cannot be excluded that names such as sarasvati_ and, as it was argued for (by Thieme, P., 1970, Sanskrit sindhu-/Sindhu- and Old Iranian hindu-/Hindu-' in: *WB Henning Memorial Volume*, ex. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch, London, Lund Humphries, pp. 447-450) sindhu were common nouns of Indo-Iranian stock which underwent the regular phonological developments in the separate Indo-Aryan and Iranian branches. Neither can it be ruled out that they, like e.g. the cognates of Vedic da_nu in Europe, could have been applied to different rivers at any place or time. Yet the fact that such names cluster in the borderlands between India and Iran is the strongest argument against this model. There remains, then, only the possibility that the sound change s>h was still in progress at the time when the Proto-Iranians moved forward from north-east to south-east Iran, and took over the place names from the Proto-Indo-Aryan population. In one of his earliest articles, Karl Hoffmann made such an assumption with reference to the name hindu-. He also maintained that the pan-Iranian sound change s to h must still have been productive when the Iranians came in contact with India. [Hoffmann, K., 1940, 'Vedische Namen', Worter und Sachen 21, pp. 139-161 (=1975, p. 14) remarks that the Iranian form hindu- for Rigvedic sindhu- is chronologically relevant, because it underwent the pan-Iranian sound change s>h. He concludes: 'Da dieser Lautwandel gesamtiranisch ist und deshalb relativ alt sein muB, weist dies auf eine ziemlich fruhe Bekanntischaft der Iranier mit Indien hin. Wenn wir das in Betracht ziehen, kommen wir in die Zeit des R.gveda'.] This would then also be true for the names IIr. *sarasvati_ and *saraiua-.

> "While the names haraxvaiti_-/sarasvati_- and haro_iuua-/sarayu- refer to different localities in India and Iran, the Iranian and Indo-Aryan names hindu-/sindhu- refer to the same geographical entity (the Indus-river or the Indus-area). This implies that the Iranian sound change s>h had not been completed yet when the Indo-Aryans… named the river. [Szemerenyi, O., 1966, 'Iranica II', Sprache 12, p. 192f]." [Hintze, A., 'The migrations of the Indo-Aryans and the Iranian sound change s > h' in: Akten der X. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Innsbruck, 22-28 September 1996, Innsbrucker Beitreage zur Sprachwissenschaft, Bd. 93].

Assuming that BMAC people spoke Indo-Iranian, the area populated by them extended from Gurgan at the Caspian Sea, Margiana, Bactria, Kerman, Sistan and Baluchistan. [Hiebert/Lamberg-Karlovsky 1992; Hiebert, F.T., 1995, 'South Asia from a Central Asian perspective', in: G. Erdosy, ed., 1995, *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, Language, Material Culture and Ethnicity, Berlin/ New York, de Gruyter, p. 200]. It is possible that these people moved from the Sarasvati

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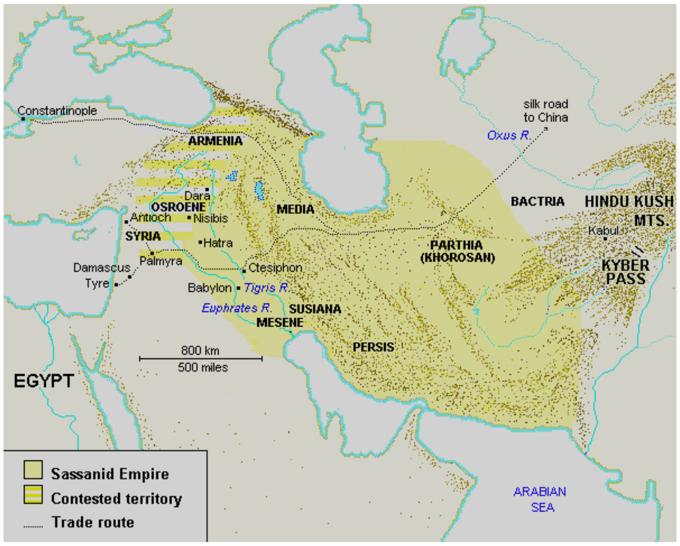
Sindhu Civilization Area in search of mineral resources and to cope with the consequences of the desiccation of the river Sarasvati over a period of centuries between 1900 and 1500 BCE.

There are grounds to argue that southern Central Asia, Afghanistan, eastern Iran, Baluchistan and SSVC formed one geopolitical and economic interaction zone for limited trade of selected commodities. *Powindah* traders "represent the intermediary traders who have linked the Indus, Khurassan, southeast Iran and Bukhara areas throughout history. It was perhaps through such intermediary nomadic traders that Rehman Dheri participated in international trade and exchange networks." (Durrani, F.A., 1986, *Rehman Dheri and origins of Indus civilization*, Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, Philadelphia.)

Trade routes across the Hindu-kush

A view on links with Egypt is presented by Tosi "This locality (Ras al-Junayaz where an inscription with 4 signs was found incised on the shoulder of a jar) occupies an even more strategic position on the coastal route form Karachi to the Horn of Africa…it seems increasingly likely that the Indus civilization contributed more to oceanic sea-craft than any of the other proto-urban civilizations of the Middle East." (Tosi, M., 1986, Early maritime cultures of the Arabian gulf and the Indian ocean, in: S.H. Ali Al Khalifa and M. Rice, eds., *Bahrain through the Ages*, London: 94-107).



Hindu-kush "forms the water-parting of the Indus and the Oxus, and is thus the crust or parapet of the Indian fortress in this direction, northern slopes of Kunduz and Badakhshan forming the glacis, and the river Oxus the wet ditch." (Markham, C.R., 1879, The mountain passes on the Afghan frontier of British India, *Proc. Roy. Geo. Soc.* I: 38-62). Chakrabarti summarises the significance of the Hindukush passes in [Tete de statuette harappeenne. Calcaire. Louvre. Sb 80, Fouilles, J. de Morgan. Quoique plus grossiere, cette tete s'apparente a celles de statuettes trouvees a Mohenjo-daro (cat. No. 339) et a Dabar Kot. Musee National De Arts Asiatiques Guimet, 1988-1989, *Les cites oubliees de l'Indus Archeologie du Pakistan*.] the Harappan context: "First, we find some Harappan sites located in each of the major pass systems to Afghanistan through Baluchistan: Pathani Damb at the muth of the Mula pass, Nawsharo in the Kachi plain at the mouth of the Bolan

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pass and the evidence of Harappan contact in the Quetta valley, and Dabarkot in the Gomal valley with sites like Gumla, Hathala, etc. in the Derajat. Add to this the Kot Diji-related sites of Tarakai Qila, etc. in the Bannu region with lines along the Tochi and the Kurram to Afghanistan…On the basis of these locations it will not be an exaggeration to claim that the entire system of mountain passes through Baluchistan and northwestern frontier was well understood during the Harappan period. Secondly, the entire situation seems to indicata that the Gomal route was possibly the most important line of communication during this period. The location of a site like Rehman Dheri in this section suggests a major role of this area in the earlier periods as well…The location of Shortughai in the northeastern part of Afghanistan definitely proves that the Harappans were using one of the Panjshir valley passes with their orientation towards Kabul. To reach the Kabul region the Harappans were using the Gomal route towards Ghazni and possibly even the classical openings of the Khyber towards Kabul…the Mula pass area which has a major site like Pathani Damb leads mainly to Kalat which in its own way was possibly a nodal point of communication. Kalat not merely gave access to Quetta and thus to Kandahar in south Afghanistan but was also a kind of terminal oint of a major route emanating from the coast and traveling through the hills of Kolwa, Sarawan and Jhalawan. From Kalat and Quetta one can go west towards Iranian Seistan…the evidence (of a direct link between the Indus civilization and Seistan) is still very limited: an ivory seal at Said Qala Tepe, an etched carnelian bead at Mundigak and the surface find of Xancus pyrum shell pieces at Shahr-i-Sokhta…The Harappan material in Bactria indicates that the straight route from Kabul to Mazar-i-Sharif via Bamian was used. The location of Shorgughai is more interesting and suggests the use of the central Hindukush passes north of Kabul…[Dilip K. Chakrabarti, 1990, *The External trade of the Indus civilization*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., p.129].

Routes along Southern Baluchistan and the Makran Coast

"The points on the coast… at which it would be possible to disembark are Sonmiani, Ormarah, Pusni and Gwadar, and the Dasht river…any selection (of disembarkation place) would have to be determined more by the convenience of the routes leading into the interior – a consideration which would reduce the number of suitable landing places to only two, viz. Pusni and the Dasht river." (Macgregor, CM, 1882, *Wanderings in Baluchistan*, London). Chakrabarti notes: "This is a remarkably interesting statement because these two suitable landing places also contain the remains of the two known Harappan settlements on the Makran coast – Sutkagendor on the Dasht river and Sotka Koh on the Shadi Kaur, exactly the area where Pasni is located." …[Dilip K. Chakrabarti, 1990, *The External trade of the Indus civilization*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., p.132].

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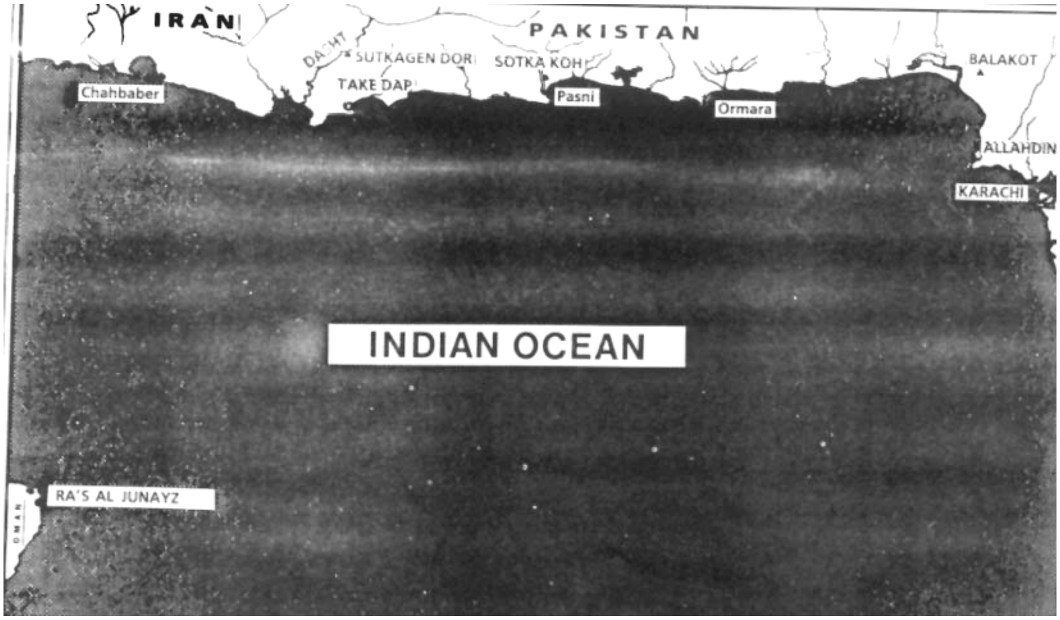

Prehistorical Coastal sites between Oman and Baluchistan: Dasht, Sutkagen Dor, Sotka Koh, Balakot, Allahdino and R's Al Junayz on the horn of Africa. [After Fig. 23 in: Maurizio Tosi, Early maritime cultures of the Arabian gulf and the Indian Ocean, in: Shaikha Haya Ali Al Khalifa an Michael Rice, 1986, *Bahrain through the ages: the archaeology*, London, KPI).

A text dated to c. 2300 BCE in Sumerian and Akkadian states (according to H.Hirsch): Ma me-lukh-kha Ma ma qan ki MA dilmun in gar-ri-im si a-ga-de ir-ku-us: '…made the Meluhha ships, the Makkan ships, the Dilmun ships tie up alongside the quay of Agade.'

Susa was a terminal route on the route from SSVC through southern Iran. "The northern section of the Iranian route is marked in this period (3rd millennium BCE) is marked by the occurrence of Indus beads at Tepe Hissar; and Shah Tepe. The main northern route follows the southern flank of the Elburz and the alignment is (from the east to the west) Meshed – Nishapur – Damghan (Hissar) – Ray (Tehran) – Qazvin – Hamadan – Kirmanshah – Diyala valley (Mesopotamia – the site of Tell Asmar with the Indus material is in the Diyala valley). This is the age-old north Iranian route linking Afghanistan and central Asia with Mesopotamia. But there is also a branch route via the Caspian shore to Gurgan on the way to Meshed. Following this route one has to cross the Elburz from the Tehran side by a pass below the peak of Mt. Damavand (the highest peak in the Elburz, which remains snow-clad even in summer). What is remarkably interesting is that the site of Shah Tepe is in thi sector (not far from Gurgan). Does this mean that the Indus civilization was familiar with the Caspian shore as well?" [Dilip K. Chakrabarti, 1990, *The External trade of the Indus civilization*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., p.135].

Second millennium BCE Contacts with Oxus Civilization

We hypothesize an Out of Bharat movement of people during the second millennium, after the drying-up of the River Sarasvati. [cf. Croats < Cravat <Hravat < Haraqvaiti < Sarasvati (Sarasvat): Croatians claim ancestry from Sarasvats ! Source: Darius' inscription (first millennium BC) in Behistun mentioning Hravats].

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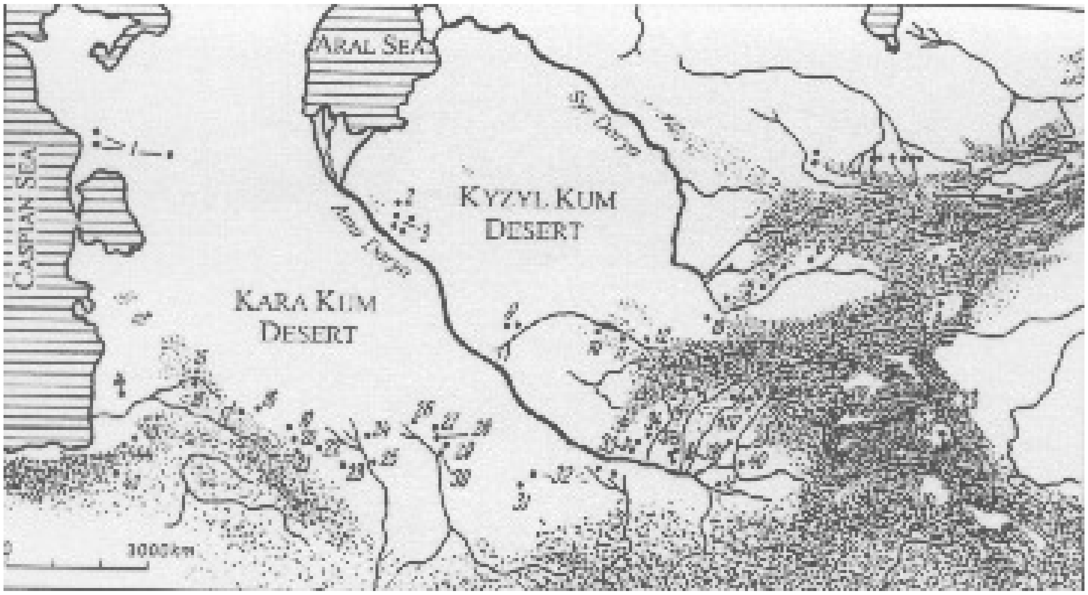
Shortughai plain (Francfort 1984, 1989) is close to the confluence of the Oxus (Amu Darya) river and one of her tributaries, the Kokcha. The river flows down the Badakhshan hills, renowned for the lapis lazuli and ruby mines (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol.6, 1908, p. 176). The lone Harappan site in this plain (about 5 km away from the Oxus and about 25 km. away from the Kokcha) is the earliest of the seven bronze-age sites in the region.

> "Central Asia is dominated by the two great riverine systems that drain the Hindu Kush: the Syr Dary and the Amur Darya. The Amur Darya, referred to as the Oxus River in Classical antiquity, flows from east to west through the region the Greeks called Bactria...The recently excavated Bronze Age settlements of the Oxus Civilization (2100-1800 BC)...are known from the former Soviet republics of Turkmenistan (particularly in Margiana along the Murghab River), Tadjikistan, and Uzbekistan/northern Afghanistan (ancient Bactria)...the settlement pattern, monumental architecture and material culture are utterly different from those of their contemporary neighbours on the Iranian Plateau, Baluchistan, Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley...L.P'yankova summarizes...Neolithic and Chalcolithic background forms the foundation upon which the later Bronze Age civilization of the Oxus is founded...Viktor Sarianidi's excavations in the Dashly oases of Afghanistan and later at Togolok, Taip, Kelleli and Gonur, all in the Margiana oases of Turkmenistan, provide the principal data of the Oxus Civilization. In his essay Sarianidi argues that the characteristic architecture of this civilization is defined by a complex of monumental temples that contain a distinctive assemblage of ritual objects." (C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *The Oxus Civilization: the Bronze Age of Central Asia, Antiquity* 68 (1994): 353-354).

Archaeological sites of Central Asia in the Chalcolithic, Bronze and early Iron Ages: 2. Kokcha cemetary; 4. Andronovo Culture monuments in Kyrgyzia; 16. Anau; 17 Ak depe; 19> Kara depe; 20. Namazga depe; 23. Altyn depe; 25. Khapuz depe; 27. Gonur oasis; 28. Togolok oasis; 31. Tillya



tepe; 40. Shortughai; 42. Pamir cemeteries; 43. Hissar tepe; 45. Tureng-tepe [Margiana and Bactria: More than 150 sites of the Bronze Age have been discovered there in an area of 3000 sq.km :

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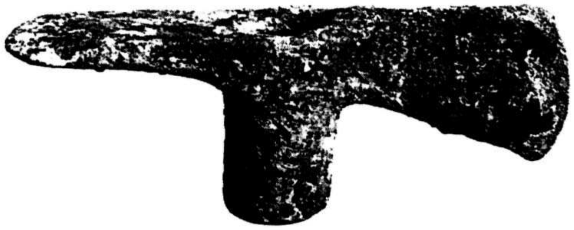
Sarianidi 1990: Masimov 1979; 1986] (After Fig. 1 in L.P'yankova, Central Asia in the Bronze Age: sedentary and nomadic cultures, in: *Antiquity* 68 (1994): 355-372).

Shortugai, north-west of Harappa is a settlement at the confluence of Amu-Darya (Oxus) and Kokcha rivers (c. 2500 BCE). Along the upper courses of Kokcha river are the lapis lazuli mines. Tin deposits are also present in the areas close to Shortugai. "…one of the more substantial zones is the mineral deposit at Misgaran south of Heart…This deposit shows signs of ancient working…The occurrence of tin in the zone southwest of Heart was brought to the attention of archaeologists by the extensive survey of ancient mining sites on the Iranian plateau conducted by Thierry Berthoud and colleagues…They recovered cassiterite flakes by digging 20 cm down in the alluvial sand of the Sarkar river and then panning this sand in a nearby qanat pool. They also collected several lumps of cassiterite which proved to be very high grade tin ore…The geological conformation of the Sarkar valley consists of granite hills ringing the alluvial plain of the river; granite (pegmatitic) is the usual host rock for cassiterite, which gradually washes out of the host rock for cassiterite, which gradually washes out of the host rock and deposits itself in placer. Therefore the Sarkar valley is geologically acceptable as a source of tin. That tin deposits extend into Badakhshan, the province from which we assume that Sumerian lapis lazuli came.., is of crucial importance." [Dilip K. Chakrabarti, 1990, *The External trade of the Indus civilization*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., p. 88]

Four 'Bactrian' metallic items have parallels in the SSVC context:

Spiral-headed pins from Mohenjodaro, Chanhudaro, Manda and Banawali

Animal-headed pins and rods from Harapa and Mohenjodaro (Harappa: antelope being attacked by a dog; Mohenjodaro: heads of two black bucks)



[Louvre, AO. Hache-herminette en cuivre. Il ese comparable a celui trouve a Sibri au Baluchistan (cat. No. 143). Il en existe egalement un exemplaire provenant de Mohenjo-daro. Pottier, M.H., 1984, Materiel funeraire de la Bactriane meridionale de lage du bronze, Paris, Editions Recherche sur les Civilizations. Musee National De Arts Asiatiques Guimet, 1988-1989, *Les cites oubliees de l'Indus Archeologie du Pakistan*.] Shaft-hole axe-adze from Mohenjodaro and Chanhudaro

Mace-head from Chanhudaro ("The Chanhudaro find is then yet another piece of evidence pointing to trade contacts or folk movements from the west affecting India at the end of the Harappa phase, and such chronological evidence as we have suggests that it arrived after 2000 BC rather than before, and possibly some centuries later." (Piggott, S., 1947-48, Notes on certain metal pins and a macehead in the Harappan culture, *Ancient India* 4: 26-40).

That it is a Harappan settlement is firmly established based on the following characteristics:

Typical Harappan pottery of dishes-on-stand, perforated jars
Black-on-red pottery (with papal leaf, fish, peacock designs)
Terracotta 'cakes'

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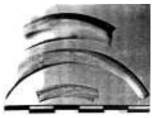
Copper-bronze metallurgy (pins, discoid mirror, clay crucibles; gold and lead pieces, disc of gold with perforation along the diameter

[Perles en cornaline. Louvre, Sb 13099. Perles a décor blanc obtenu par l'application a chaud d'un acide. De telles perles ont ete exportees de l'Inde a Shortughai (Bactriane orientale), en Iran et en Mesopotamie. Musee National De Arts Asiatiques Guimet, 1988-1989, *Les cites oubliees de l'Indus Archeologie du Pakistan*.]

Use of lapis lazuli, agate, carnelian, steatite; long tubular and etched carnelian beads

Shell bangles



Mudbricks (32X16X8 cm.)

Incised potsherds with typical signs

Typical seal with the field symbol containing a rhinoceros and typical signs

Shortugai. Shell bangles; Seal showing a rhinoceros; terracotta figurine of a zebu.

Leaf motif on Shortugai ceramic

Henry-Paul Francfort summarizes: 'All the above recorded antiquities of Shortughai exhibit purely Harappan shapes, sizes, proportions and decorations. The manufacturing processes are also Harappan even in the modest field of firing techniques which are well-known in the subcontinent but not recorded in central Asia: burnt cracked pebbles have been flung on hearths to maintain heat for any domestic or artisanal use. All the artifacts and the technology from the first period of Shortughai clearly originated in the Indus Valley and nothing in those levels can be attributed to another culture or civilization.' (Francort, H.P., 1984, The early periods of Shortughai (Harappan) and the western Bactrian culture of Dashly, in B. Allchin, ed., *South Asian Archaeology*, 1981, Cambridge: 170-75). Shortugai sites were abandoned in the first half of the second millennium BCE.

During the Bronze Age the early settlement in this area has been found to be in the Taluqan area which is south of the Shortugai site with pottery types comparable to those of Mundigak III, Baluchistan, Amri and Kot Diji. This has led to a provisional interpretation that 'people from the Indian borderlands migrated as early as the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC towards the Amu Darya basin, and settled in eastern Bactria, in the Taluqan area…One way to explain this phenomenon (of sophisticated irrigation techniques) is by relating it to the arrival of Harappan settlers already acquainted with irrigation technology, or by an expansion northwards of the people, also of Indian origin, who had settled a few centuries before in the Taluqan area. The two movements probably concurred, but neither of them should be understood as a colonization of hitherto barren, uninhabited land.' (Gardin, J.C., 1984, Canal irrigation in bronze age eastern Bactria, in: BB Lal and SP Gupta, eds., Frontiers of the Indus Civilization, Delhi: 311-20.) This inference is reasonable despite Francfort's view that 'such an irrigation technique could be result of a local tradition'. The technique involved an artifical irrigation canal taking off from the Kokcha river, analogous to the Gabar-bands seen on the River Sindhu.

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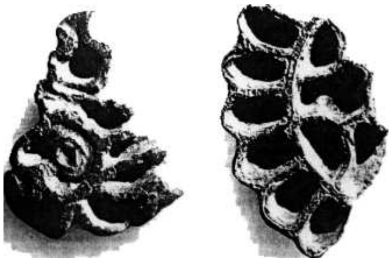
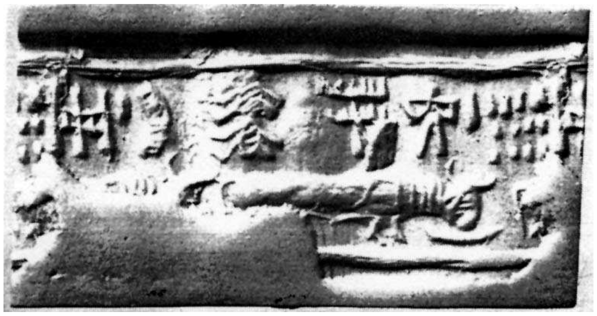
Harappa-related artifacts have occurred in the graves of Bactria (c. mid-2nd millennium BCE); similar artifacts occur earlier in the region between central Asia and the Sarasvati Sindhu Valley civilization (SSVC) area. These are:

Cosmetic falcons (of metal, faience, ceramics) with a tubular neck and a flat rim (similar to a falcon which occurred at Chanhudaro (Mackay, 1943, pl. LXXIII,39).
Spiral, bi-spiral, looped metal pins and some with zoomorphic heads (some parallels in SSVC)
Metal mirrors
Axes, shaft-hole axe-adze type also found in upper levels of Mohenjodaro
Mace heads of copper0bronze (a specimen paralleled in SSVC – Stuart Piggott, 1943, Dating the Hissar sequence – the Indian evidence, *Antiquity* 17: 169-82)
Metal seals and stone amulet-seals with compartments (parallels in SSVC specimens and Bactria: Sarianidi notes a'lorenze-shaped amulet-seals depicting an eagle in the heraldic posture, not infrequently accompanied by snakes' at Harappa, in Bactria and Margiana.

Sarianidi further notes: " We deliberately restrict this review to a comparison of the most charateristic and significant similarities of individual categories of the articles of the Bactrian-Margian complex with corresp;onding articles from the valley of the Indus. Let us merely add that tessellated alabaster mosaic was encountered at Dashly 3…, individual details of which represented the humped bulls; surfaces were decorated with with scratched drawings of the trefoil, exactly imitating analogous adornments on the clothes of the well-known statue of the 'priest' from Mohenjodaro. Also found in Bactria were small steatite vessels in the form of a kidney…sometimes decorated with branches bearing the leaves of the papal, the famous tree of the Indian subcontinent. Of the more general analogies let us note similar types of vases on tall stems, saucers, triple vessels on stems…pottery pedestals with images scratched on them…, terracotta figurines of flying birds…, a zigzag ornament and signs on pottery…, copper jar-like vessels… and frying pans with long handles, daggers (or swords) with antennae-like handles." (Sarianidi, V.I., 1979, New finds in Bactria and Indo-Iranian Connections, in M. Taddei (ed.) *South Asian Archaeology* 1977, II. Naples: 643-59.)



Mohenjo-daro. Two fragments of copper/bronze compartmented stamp seals. Source: Dept. of Archaeology of Pakistan. Dated c. late third/early second millennium BCE. One seal is shaped like a many-petalle flower with a large heart and a solid background. This is comparable to a bronze stamp seal from Sahr-I-Sokhta III. [After Fig. 1 in Elisabeth CL During Caspers, 1997, in: *South Asian Archaeology 1995*].



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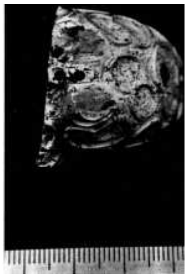
Susa

[Sceau cylindre avec inscription harappeenne.. Steatite cuite. Louvre, SAS 41 (S.299). Fouilles Jacques de Morgan. Amiet, P.,1986, *L'age des echanges inter-iraniens 3500-1700 avant J.C.*, Paris: Editions de la Reunion des musees nationaux, fig. 94(1).] A cylinder seal from Susa was made of bone, said to belong to 'epoque archaique'. The design resembles the standard device commonly scene in front of the one-horned bull of the SSVC inscriptions. The bull is elongated. There are some vague resemblances to signs of the script. (Delapore, L., 1920, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux*, I, Paris). A circular seal (22 cm. dia and 12 cm. Thick) from Susa (Pierre Amiet) shows a well-curved bull and six signs on the obverse, with a pierced and grooved boss on the back. Amiet, P.,1986, *L'age des echanges inter-iraniens 3500-1700 avant J.C.*, Paris: Editions de la Reunion des musees nationaux, fig. 94(2).]

[Taureau couche en Pierre noire. Louvre, AO 7021. Provenance probable: Warka (uruk), sans doute fin du Ive millenaire. On retrouve ce motif (trefoil) sur le fragment no. 237 et sur le vetement du 'Roi-pretre' (Priest-king) Musee National De Arts Asiatiques Guimet, 1988-1989, *Les cites oubliees de l'Indus Archeologie du Pakistan*.]



'Priest-king' with trefoil design on the robe.

[Fragment d'une statuette composite. Mohenjodaro. Steatite blanche. MM 13237: SD 767. Musee National De Arts Asiatiques Guimet, 1988-1989, *Les cites oubliees de l'Indus Archeologie du Pakistan*.]

Steatite fragment SD 76, Mohenjo-daro Museum: Mm 1337, back view and view from below. [A. Ardeleanu-Jansen, A short note on a steatite sculpture fragment from Mohenjodaro, in: *South Asian Archaeology 1985*].

Sandstone 'pedestal' DK 4480, 6.6 cm. High and 14.7 cm. Dia. The two dowel holes indicate that it was mounted on to another object. [Photograph from Sind Vol. XIV, 342]. The bull may be a representation of 'Bull of Heaven' {a constellation name of Taurus which used to vanish for six weeks from the Sumerian horizon around mid-January. It arose again in March, marking an important harvesting stage of the agricultural cycle: 'the yearly emergence of Dumuzi (who is often referred to as the

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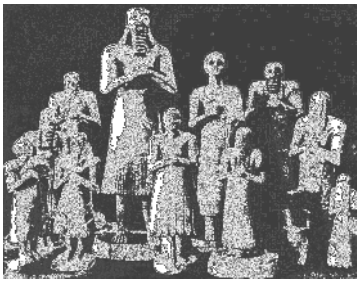
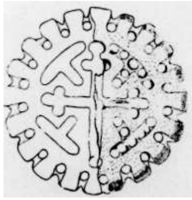
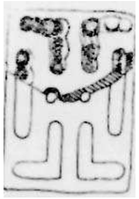
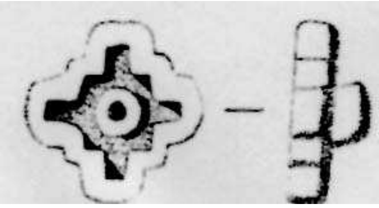
bull) from the underworld in the early spring'; Dumuzi the shepherd-king of Uruk, is the priestly husband of Inanna, the Queen of Uruk and its storehouses, the goddess of love and fertility, the personification of the Morning and the Evening Star (Venus), whose holy marriage to Dumuzi used to be celebrated after harvesting at the end of March, the start of the Sumerian calendar year. (Wolkenstein, D. 1983: 150ff.)}. Two polychrome pottery shereds from Mohenjodaro are known to bear 'red trefoils with white borders on an apple-green ground' (Mackay 1938: 227, Pl. LXVII, Figs. 10 and 15). Trefoils also have been seen to decorate the steatite bulls in Sumer.



Votive figurines, circa 2900-2600 BCE, from the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar. Eyes of two of them inlaid with stones are large. An imprint of another statue is seen on the figure in the front row, second from the left. The priest in the middle, next to the large statuette wears the shawl with the right-shoulder bare. This style of wearing a shawl is also seen on the Mohenjo-daro statuette of the so-called 'priest-king'. Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

Other seals of unknown provenance (perhaps from Mesopotamia). There are six seals. (De Clercq, 1888; Thureau-Dangin, 1925; Scheil, V., 1925, Un nouveau sceau Hindou pseudo-Sumerien, *Revue d'Archaeologie* 22: 55-56; Langdon,1932, Another Indus seal, *JRAS*: 47-48; Bissing, von,1927, Ein vor etwa 15 Jahren Erworbenes Harappa-siegel, *Archiv fur Orientforschung* r: 21-2; *British Museum Quarterly*, 1932). Three are distinctly relatable to Mesopotamia. A cylinder seal. In the upper man is a man with long head-dress, with a dragon-like creature on either side; flanked by two trees; fish sign at the foot of the trees; a human figure struggles with two mythical creatures on either side at each end of the panel. Above the human figure, a tree is shown. The lower panel has two bulls sniff at a round object. A horned mythical animal with upturned face, followed by a rhinoceros; on the back of the rhinoceros is a beaked bird with outstretched wings. (Corbiau, S., 1936, An Indo-Sumerian cylinder, *Iraq* 3: 100-3). The head-dress on this seal is comparable to the terracotta cake from Kalibangan. (Rao, S.R., 1973, pl. XXXVI,C). Second seal is a round seal resembling Gadd nos. 16 and 17 from Ur. Horned but humpless bull. 5 signs.

Shahr-I-Sokhta. Xancus pyrum shell fragments (about twenty) were found; most of them were parts of bracelets (dated to cc. 1st half of 3rd millennium BCE). X.pyrum typically occurs on coasts of Indian peninsula. (Durante S., 1979, Marine shells from Balakot, Shahr-I-Shokhta and Tepe Yahya: their significance for trade and technology in Ancient Indo-Iran, in: M. Taddei, ed., *South Asian Archaeology*, 1977, Naples: 317-44).

Shahr- Sokhta. Chlorite, calcite and bronze seals. Use of a lithic drill-head to obtain the motif on the chlorite seal is clearly seen on

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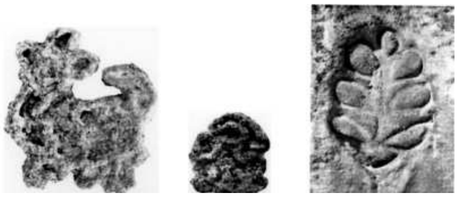
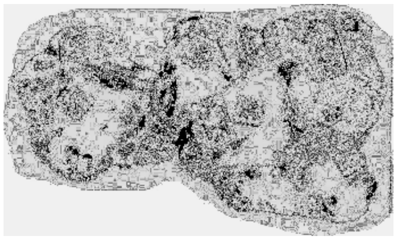
a steatite round seal. Macro-photographs of two very used drill-heads showing the little depression at the top of the working end. [After Fig. 1. Inv. No. 444, 2589 and 4367; Pl. 94 in: Marcello Piperno, Micro-drilling at Shahr-I Sokhta; the making and use of the lithic drill-heads, in: *Norman Hammond, ed., South Asian Archaeology 1991, Duckworth]*.]. It is remarkable that an alysis of 205 complete or fragmentary stamp seals discovered at Shahr-i Sokhta included 93 made of chlorite, 56 made of 'bronze' and 40 made of calcite.

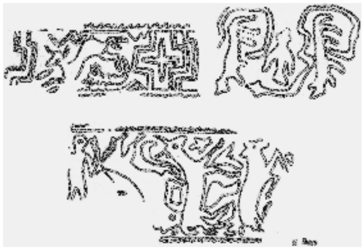
'Bronze seals' and impression of a bronze seal (h) from Shahr-i Sokhta. Note the ibex with back-swept horns.



'Bronze seals' (a-b) and impression of bronze seal © from Shahr-I Sokhta.

While chlorite and calcite are easy to find in the area, the use of 'bronze' is instructive and indicates that there was a powerful impulse to communicate the metallurgical nature of the transactions and related products made by the artisans. Some bronze seals also showed an ibex with back-swept horns, in one case placed on a stepped triangular element apparently representing a mountain, and floral patterns with borders of petals and lobes. The site also showed some evidence of the practice of closing vessels with clay or mud and sealing these clay nuclei as a book-keeping operation.





Shahr-i Sokhta: Suse Cylindres et empriente. Ibex. Bull.

Shahr-I Sokhta. Sealings showing impressions of different seals [After Fig. 8]. Maybe, these different seals represented different functions. One seal at Megiddo was discovered belonging to a 'book-keeping administrator of cattle'. (Loud, G., *Megiddo II. Season of 1935-39*, Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. 62, 1948, tab. 149, No. 32). Of a total of 119 sealings examined, 36 were on kobs or pins, 19 on vases or similar containers, 11 on canvas bags or similar containers.

Two lapis lazuli seals also occur indicating some trade in this material also. Tusa also notes: "…the fundamental relationship between an individual and his seal, which is also proved by the fact that the latter even accompanied him to the grave after his death. The seal was buried together with the deceased in direct contact with the body…In two cases the seal was found near the inside of the wrist, thereby indicating the position occupied by the object among the personal belongings…the seal was attached to the wrist where the palm joins the hand – an obvious position if one had to seal vases and other items. The seal was pressed down on the clay with the wrist and then automatically withdrawn when the hand was removed. [cf. P. Ferioli, E. Fiandra and S. Tusa, Stamp seals and the functional analysis of their sealings at Shahr-I Sokhta II-III; P.Amiet, Les Sceaux de Shahr-I-Sokhta, in: J.E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1979, *South Asian Archaeology 1975*, pp. 3-25].

At Ras al-Qala, ancient capital of Dilmun (Bahrain) occurred 697 stone weights and 12 stamp seals of the Persian Gulf variety. The occurrence of the weights and seals together indicate use by partners in trade. 'There can be no doubt as to the system to which these weights belong. Both in shape and in weight they agree completely with the weights found in the cities of the Harappa

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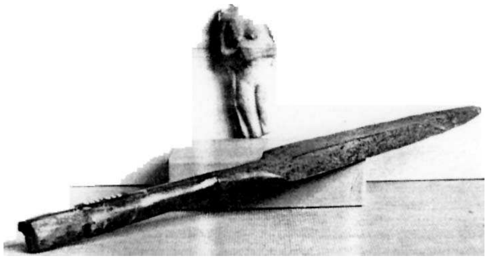
civilization." (Bibby, G., 1970, Acccording to the standard of Dilmun, *Kuml* 20: 349-53). Two Persian Gulf seals show a short-horned bull. Other devices were: scorpion, foot-print, a bird with outstretched wing indicating influence of Mesopotamian glyptic art.



Spearhead and figurine of Mesopotamian type, resembling those ascribed by Woolley to Larsa or Ur III times, from the upper levels of City I. Qal'at al-Bahrain. [Geoffrey Bibby, 1986, The origins of Dilmun Civilization, in: Shaikha Haya Ali Al Khalifa an Michael Rice, 1986, *Bahrain through the ages: the archaeology*, London, KPI]. The spearhead close to a figurine is significant and foreshadows Durga as Mahis.a_suramardini_, carrying many weapons in her multiple hands.

Jointed antelope-heads on a round shell seal from Bahrain. [After Fig. 82, Hayal Al Khalifa, The shell seals of Bahrain, in: Shaikha Haya Ali Al Khalifa an Michael Rice, 1986, *Bahrain through the ages: the archaeology*, London, KPI].

Ras al-Qala. The site follows the grid-iron pattern of town-planning comparable to that of SSVC. At Barbar have been discovered bronze mirror with a human figure on the handle (similar to the specimen from Mehi culture, contemporary with SSVC), a few perforated stones and linga-shaped gamesmen. Seal 1…made of green steatite, round seal…short-horned bull and five signs (assignable to the Isin-Larsa times)…occurred in associated with an Isin-Larsa tablet which had three Amorite names. Seal 2…light grey steate…round seal…hindquarters of a bull and two partially preserved signs (assignable to the second city of Ras al-Qala assignable to the Barbar period coterminus with the Akkadian period)…Seal 3…with four dot-in-circle patterns…three bulls. (Brunswig, R.H., Parpola, Asko and Potts, Daniel, 1984, New Indus type and related seals, in: D. Potts, ed., Dilmun, *New Studies in the Archaeology and early history of Bahrain*, Berlin, pp. 101-15).

The use of round stamp seals at Mohenjo-daro and Chanhujo-daro are indigenous to the SSVC and may relate to export of or trade in particular goods or materials.

Hammad burial mounds in the island of Bahrain. Grave no. 1757 yielded a round seal (c. 2200-2000 BCE) with a one-horned bull with its head looking downwards and five signs. A peacock is also shown just above the animal. The excavator, Srivastava (1991: 27) notes: 'Since the sequence of letters on the seal from grave no. 1757 is almost similar to that from Mohenjodaro, it is likely that the merchant was of Indus Valley origin.'

Failaka. Two seals. One was made of steatite…four signs over the hindquarters of a thin bull. Seal 2… brownish-grey steatite…two sets of dots in circles on either side of the lines on the boss… signs above a short-horned bull.

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Umm an-Nar tomb in Buraimi. Compartmented steatite vessel. Oman. Umm an-Nar is an island to the west of the horn of Oman. Etched carnelian bead found dated in ca. 3rd millennium BCE context… copper-bronze weapons from Umm an-Nar and Hilli were comparable to Harappan specimens : "Although there is at present no evidence that weapon Type 2 was imported from the Indus Valley, the thinness of the blade combined with the position of the rivet holes well up the blade – a feature not encountered among Iranian or Mesopotamian blades – may well provide an Indian correlation. Although perhaps not a direct import, this dagger (or knife) might, in any case, be considered a local product in which Indian features are strongly present." (During-Caspers, ECL, 1970, Trucial Oman in the Third Millennium BC, *Origini* 4: 205-76).

At Ras al-Junayz (Oman) was found an ivory comb with 5 dots-in-circles below the rim; in the same context, a square steatite stamp seal with a perforated boss as the handle. (Chakrabarti, D.K., 1990, p. 19). At Al-Maysar, a pear-shaped stamp seal was found. "On three sides six animals are engraved: two caprids, an ibex and a wild goat; a zebu cow and a scorpion; a dog and again a wild goat. In our context the zebu cow is the most important. Together with the humped bull painted on a jar from Umm an-Nar it demonstrates the presence of these animals in the Oman peninsula during the third millennium BC. This again proves contact with India. The triangular prismatic shape first seemed to be unique and only recalled the prismatic sealing amulets in clay from Mohenjodaro…

Maysar-I. Triangular, prismatic seal (DSA 4000). A short-horned bull and an inscription. A small pear-shaped seal from Maysar-I discovered in 1981 also shows eastern connections.

A new seal from Hajjar in Bahrain is a triangular prismatic seal. Bahrain National Museum. "The engraved stick-man corresponds to an Indus Valley letter and has its closest parallel in a small stamp-seal from Harappa." (Weisgerber, G., 1984, Makan and Meluhha – Third millennium BC copper production in Oman and the evidence of contact with the Indus valley, in B. Allchin, ed., *South Asian Archaeology*, 1981, Cambridge, 196-201).

Sibri. The site southwest of Mehrgarh. At this site were found two types of seals and a bronze shaft-hole axe-adze. One seal-type is a compartmented seal of bronze or stone. (3 of them are triangle-shaped). Another seal type is a cylinder seal which show sa lion facing a zebu with an engraved scorpion at the base. Black steate beads were found along with this cylinder seal and may have been parts of a necklace. A comparable Margiana seal bears the representation of a zebu. Not far from the find-spot of the cylinder seal was found the bronze shaft-hole axe-adze; this is of a type well known both in Murgabo-Bactrian area and in Mohenjodaro. A double-faced amulet was found at this site. It showed on one side a singed animal facing a tree and on the observe trampling a snake. Another cylinder seal showed a standing figure among animals including a lion fighting a zebu. An amulet had two signs of Harappan script, showing 'some degree of contemporaraneity and interaction between the Mehrgarh VIII/Sibri complex and the Indus civilization.' (Jarrrige, JF, 1985, Continuity and change in the north Kachi plain (Baluchistan, Pakistan) at the beginning of the second millennium BC, in: J. Schotsmans and M. Taddei, eds., *South Asian Archaeology 1983*. Naples: 35-68.)

Crete and SSVC

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Clay sealing (DK 9281--Mohenjodaro). Steatite seal (DK 8321--Mohenjodaro).

"The sealing can be divided into two halves. The left half, showing a tree, a platform, a pillar and a bird, is of the utmost importance…the right half of this sealing shows a bull in a charging attitude, lowering its head. A portion of the seal is broken off; yet a hand and the arm of an acrobat above the horns are distinctly visible; here is a person, thus, about to catch the horns of the bull…A second acrobat is shown, again as on the Cretan examples, alighting on the back of the bull with a skilful jump, no doubt in order to gain fresh purchase for the final landing in the arena. The performance is in every respect identical with those of the Minoan sports." On the seal, the bull's place is taken by a buffalo. "But for this detail, all the rest of this seal is thoroughly identical with the taurokathapsia shows of Minoan Crete. Here, a lady, dressed in a double skirt (which again has its exact parallels in Cretan seals of the third millennim BC) is just being lifted up by the beast, and her hair, knotted in a long plait, streams in the air very much like the curly pigtails of the Cretan performers… Another lady performer is just landing on the hind quarters of the buffalo, another, in the right-hand upper corner, is trying to make a back sommersault; and two acrobats have been thrown and are seen tumbling down on the ground before the animal. That the performers are ladies can distinctly be seen in the seal from their breasts… The fallen acrobats can be paralleled in several seals from Crete onn which they are shown in very similar situations struggling or dazed on the ground. Indeed, there is hardly a detail that has no parallel in Crete; and it would not be difficult to cite prototypes for every figure on this seal. No other meaning can be ascribed to these Mohenjodaro seals but that they are illustrations of a practice essentially identical with the Minoan games of the same ers." Fabri demonstrates that 'the ritual ended in the Indus Valley exactly as it did in Minoan Crete' as seen from Mohenjodaro terracotta sealing DK 8120. "Here a man thrusts his spear into the neck of a bull, while stepping with one foot on one of its horns and holding the other horn with his left hand. The most important detail, however, is the snake rising up behind the bull. This element definitely gives this scene its religious character, and it is not mere coincidence. I suggest, that the snake is a constant symbol of the Mother Goddess of Crete, who is usually shown as handling a snake in each hand." Fabri also cites the clay sealing DK 4547 which shows a tree behind the bull "exactly as in Crete, to symbolize that the bull is going to be sacrificed to the Mother Goddess." On DK 9281, Fabri notes: "Here the bull-grappling is shown against a background of the arena shrine, exactly as in some Cretan seals. Every important detail is repeated. Here is the Sacred Tree in the temenos as in Crete; here again is the pillar rising from the platform, with the two horns as so often found in shrines of the Mother Goddess of Crete; and here is even the Sacred Bird of the Mother Goddess, seated upon the pillar before her tree, again exactly as in Crete….I find it impossible to believe that so many details, so many elements of popular worship, could be invented independently, owing to the 'similar working of the human mind. I find it also impossible to believe that these seals and sealings from Mohenjodaro can have any other explanation than that given by me, seeing that they agree not only in essentials but even in minute details with the representations from contemporary Crete." [Fabri, C.L., 1934-35, The Cretan bull-grappling sports and the bull sacrifice in the Indus Valley civilization, *Annual Report, Archaeolo gical Survey of India*: 98-101].

Mesopotamia

Mesopotamia exported raw wool and garments of wool, and silver. Mesopotamia imported from Meluhha: lapis lazuli, carnelian, gold, silver, copper, ebony, ivory, tortoise shell, a bird (peacock?), dog, cat and monkey. (Muhly, D., 1973, *Copper and Tin*, Hamden).

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A Dilmun seal impression showing three Indus bulls walking along the outer edge in anti-clockwise direction (courtesy Dept. of Antiquities, State of Bahrain; after Fig. 27 in *South Asian Archaeology 1975*). Dilmun is Bahrain. (Cornwall, P.B., 1946, On the location of Dilmun, *Bulletin of the American Schol of Oriental Research* 103: 3-11; 1952, Two letters from Dilmun, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 6: 137-45).

"Oppenheim's essay (1954: Seafaring merchants of Ur) was a review article of a report on cuneiform documents from Ur by Figulla and Martin (1953). These documents tell of a group of seafaring merchants – alak Dilmun – 'who work hand in hand with enterprising capitalists in Ur to take garments to the island (of Dilmun) in order to buy large quantities of copper there' (Oppenheim, 1954, p.7). Since Dilmun (Bahrain) is not a source of copper ore and had little fuel for smelting, it was clear that it was a trading post: for Oppenheim a kind of 'window' into the eastern Gulfr and on into the Arabian Sea…Bronze Age tablets…there are two other places that are mentioned: the lands of Magan and Meluhha. Their location is now known with reasonable certainty. Magan was in the vicinity of the Straits of Hormuz, and included Oman and the adjacent Iranian coast. Meluhha corresponds in a general way to the lands of the Indus Civilization, probably including Pakistani Makran….The materials that the most prominent in the written record are copper, pearls, lapis lazuli, carnelian and exotic animals…There are 76 citations to Meluhha in cuneiform documents…It should be noted that ivory is not mentioned as part of the trade with Meluhha, although it is mentioned in connection with Dilmun.

"Frequency of citations of products of Meluhha in cuneiform texts.

A wood, Gis-ab-ba-me-luh-ha
Carnelian
A bird
Mesu wood
Meluhhan style furniture
Coppoer
A ship of Meluhhan style
Lapis lazuli
Pearls
Fresh dates
A dog of Meluhha
A cat of Meluhha
Gold

"…It is widely known that Tell Asmar (an inland site) yielded a cylinder seal which has Harappan elements in it, as well as Indus knobbed ware, etched carnelian beads, heart-shaped inlay and a stamp seal with parallels at Mohenjo-daro (Frankfort, 1933, p.50)." [Gregory L. Possehl, 1995, Seafaring merchants of Meluhha, in: *South Asian Archaeology 1995*].

Makan and Meluhha. Commodities associated with the two regions are: metals and metal objects, precious metals, stone and stone objects, semi-precious stones, trees and wooden objects, boats, reeds, plants and plant derivatives and animals. Some translations of Assyrian words have been revised: tin (instead of lead), diorite (instead of dolerite), carnelian (instead of some other semi-precious stone). Gelb infers that Makan is the southern shore of the Persian Gulf and that Meluhha is the northern shore of the Persian Gulf and of the Arabian sea, Iran and India extending east of

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ancient Elam and Ansan upto and including the Indus valley. Parpola et al. note a Sargonic tablet (c. 2200 BCE) which mentions a man with an Akkadian name entitled ‘the holder of a Meluhha ship’. An Akkadian cylinder seal bears the inscription, ‘Su-ilisu, Meluhha interpreter’. [Parpola S., Parpola, A. and Brunswig, R.H., 1977, The Meluhha village – evidence of acculturation of Harappan traders in the third millennium Mesopotamia, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20: 129:65]. The inscriptions of Gudea of Lagash (2143-2124 BCE) note that Meluhhans supplied wood and other raw materials for the temple of Gudea’s capital. Twelve texts (c. 2062 to 2028 BCE) from Lagash refer to ‘village of Meluhha’, ‘granary of the village of Meluhha’, ‘son of Meluhha’, ‘Meluhha overseer’, ‘Meluhha garden of the goddess Nin-Mar’. It was a villae which supplied barley for taxation and revenue. A Sargonic period document refers to ‘La-Sunzida, a man of Meluhha’, perhaps a ‘first or second generation Meluhhan immigrant bearing a name directly translated from his language into Sumerian’. In the story, Enki and the World Order, magilum-boats of Meluhha transport gold and silver to Nippur for Enli, the king of all the lands.(Foster, B.R., 1977, Commercial activitiy in Sargonic Mesopotamia, *Iraq* 39: 31-43).
By early third millennium BC, the Sindhu Sarasvati doab was teeming with settlements which had known metallurgy, a system of weights, town-planning and also the use of inscriptions to conduct trade in an extensive contact area.

A review of the cognate pictorial motifs of many seals of both the regions provide clinching evidence.

South Turkmenia (c. 2500-2000 BCE). ‘An inscribed seal, alabaster seal with svastika motif, segmented faience bead, etched carnelian bead, perforated jar, ithyphallic terracotta, ivory beads, dice… a number of copper-bronze objects, three-headed griffin etc.’ are analogues with SSVC finds. ‘…one of the earliest manifestations of Bactrian Bronze Age, the Dashly 3 palace, level 1, shows unmistakable Harappan influence in the form of mosaic trefoil patterns and bull designs…Given the Harapan connections at Shortughai I, which corrected radiocarbon determinations place in the mid to second half of the third millennium…and the fact that even the early NMG V levels at Altyn of the funerary complex (excv. 7 rm. 7) contain materials of probably Harappan origin, such as alabaster seal with swastika motif, it seems inherently likely that the fertile Bactrian plain was occupied in the mid-third millennium, and it is reasonable to suggest that the earliest known Bactrian Bronze remains date to this period.’ (Kohl, P.L., 1984, *Central Asia. Palaeolithic beginnings to the Iron age*, Paris).

On the sites of Mundigak, Deh Morasi Ghundai and Said Qala, J.G. Shaffer observes: “ Mundigak, Deh Morasi Ghundai and Said Qala Tepe are all located near Kandahar in southestern Afghanistan. This location gave them ready access to the Quetta Valley-Bolan Pass region and perhaps even to the Gomal Valley area. Mundigak was the most extensively excavated of the three sites and provides the major sequence. Throughout the progohistoric occupations at Mundigak, Periods I-IV, a limited number of intrusive artifacts (mainly ceramics) are found, which indicate some degree of interaction with the protohistoric cultures of Baluchistan and the Pre- or Early Harappan cultures (Kot Diji and Amri) of the Indus Valley. However, evidence reflecting Mature Harappan interaction is meager and confined to Mundigak IV. Some of the black-on-red slipped pottery of Mundigak IV (2-3) is somewhat reminiscent of Harappan pottery in terms of vessel forms, but not in its decorative style. A few perforated ots have also been reported from this period. A few elongated beads and a single etched carnelian bead similar to those associated with the Mature Harappan were found. A single bronze seal with a zoomorphic figure bearing a stylistic resemblance to some identified on Harappan seals also was recorded from Mundigak IV. At Deh Morasi Ghundai, a

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Mundigak IV (1) site, no evidence of Mature Harappan interaction was recorded. The only possible evidence of Harappan interaction at Sais Qala Tepe, a Mundigak III (5-6)-IV site, with a geometric compartmental seal, made of ivory." (Shaffer, J.G., 1982, Harappan culture: a reconsideration, in: G.L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization, a contemporary perspective,* Delhi: 41-50).

At Southern Turkmenia sites of Altyn Tepe, Namazga and Khapuz were found copper objects (concave sickles, chisels with rectangular section, leaf-shaped spearheads with midrib, chopper knives with concave back and convex cutting edge, frying pans with long handles and a high-necked flask with a rod) with parallels in SSVC sites. (Gupta, S.P., 1979, *Archaeology of Soviet Central Asia and the Indian borderlands*, II, Delhi). Kohl notes: "…the ivory stics and gaming pieces; certain bead shapes – particularly segmented faience beads; the etched carnelian beads; perforated vessels; depiction of three-headed mythical animals, and less definitely, male figurines with erect phalli – all link southern Turkenistan to the Indian civilization.' (Kohl, P.L., 1984, *Central Asia. Palaeolithic beginnings to the Iron age,* Paris, p. 132).

Three seals were found in Altyn Tepe. One is a pendant-seal of silver from a brick-chambered burial. "Its figural composition, it is felt, was based on a soapstone seal-representation from Mohenjodaro. The Altyn seal portrays a three-headed griffin – the body is of the tiger but the mouth is of some bird. The legs are solid but hatched with linear patterns. The Mohenjodaro seal depicts a three-headed animal complex: the lowest of the three heads is that of a bison, second of a unicorn and the third of an ibex. The comparison is, therefore, somewhat weak. The only point of similarity, if there is any, lies on the conceptual plane – the concept of a mythical animal with three heads." (Gupta, S.P., 1979, *Archaeology of Soviet Central Asia and the Indian borderlands,* II, Delhi, pp. 168-169). Second seal is an alabaster seal with a svastika motif and parallels the seals found at SSVC sites. The third seal (made of soapstone or alabaster) has two signs of the script on a square seal. Shaffer notes that the signs found on the seal are similar to those found on ceramic statues in Turkmenistan and to characters in Proto-Elamite script. (Shaffer, J.G., 1982, Harappan culture: a reconsideration, in: G.L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization, a contemporary perspective,* Delhi: 41-50).

Hissar, Shah Tepe and Marlik are north Iranian sites which have yielded etched carnelian beads. Copper-bronze axes, maceheads, mid-rib-less spears of Hissar III have been compared with those of SSVC (Piggott, S., 1943, Dating the Hissar sequence – the Indian evidence, *Antiquity* 17: 169-82). Two necklaces found in 'the Hissar IIIC hoard I of the Treasure Hill' have 12 specimens of etched carnelian beads: 'carnelian beads in the form of small globes, bicones, rings and tubes, most of the latter being ornamented with bleached white rings or wavy lines'. (Schmidt, E.F., 1937, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar,* Philadelphia). This is a typical invention from the SSVC.

A cylinder seal from Hissar had a pattern resembling the bovine impression on the SSVC seals. 'Seal H116 occurred in refuse dirt of Hissar IIIB…The material is grayish-brown serpentine. The sealing pattern shows a tree-shaped symbol with bi-lobed top and dashes at either side of the 'trunk'. A bovine with curved horn stands in front of thr tree. One eye and details on the muzzle are marked. The body is subdivided into three parts. The chest and the posterior part are almost alike and connected by a narrow band. The joints of the two legs shown are exaggerated by spine-shaped protuberances. The long tail is bent at a right angle. Below the neck and the chest is a square cross. Below the belly there are two superimposed crescents, and above the back five vertical crescents.' (Schmidt, E.F., 1937, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar*, Philadelphia).

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At Shahdad, a south Iranian site, compartmented stone boxes with coiled serpents moulded on the lids, round copper-bronze mirror with handle and etched carnelian beads were found indicating parallels with SSVC. (Asthana, S., 1979, Harappans' interest in Kirman, *Man and Environment* 3: 56-60).A proto-Elamite inscription on pottery was found.

At Tepe Yahya, another south Iranian site (terminal date 2320 BCE), apart from etched carnelian beads, an Indus rectangular stamp seal with Indus pictographs only was found; it was applied to the exterior of a vessel before firing.

At Kalleh Nisar (Luristan), three Harappa-related seals were found: Seal no.3 "This seal comes from the Foroughi collection, and is now housed in the Louvre…steatite…a horned bull is shown beneath four Indus signs.' Seal no.4 "…grey steatite…two sets of dots-in-circles on either sside of three incised lines…iconographically typical of the Dilmun seal tradition, showing a crescent, star, and net square, as well as a Harappa-like bull.' Seal no. 5. "…light yellows stone…seal has two perforations and has been bored through at two of its ends, suggesting that it was used as a pendant. A comparable piece is known from Harapa…One side shows four eagles, each of which has its talons oriented toward the terminal points of the object. The eagles hold snakes in their beaks, and the center space between the four birds is taken up by a human figure with outstretched limbs. On the opposite side of the seal is an animal, perhaps a hyena or boar, striding across the field, with a small animal of the same type depicted above it." (Brunswig, R.H., Parpola, Asko and Potts, Daniel, 1984, New Indus type and related seals, in: D. Potts, ed., Dilmun, *New Studies in the Archaeology and early history of Bahrain*, Berlin, pp. 101-15).

Many sites of Mesopotamia yielded seals with parallels in SSVC. The sites are: Ur, Tell Asmar, Kish, Lagash, Tepe Gawra and Nippur.

Ur. Nos. 8 to 14 of the 18 seals discussed by Gadd belong to the category called Persian Gulf seals.

Gadd no. 1 (no. 631 in Legrain,1951). A horned but humpless bull with belly-bands. The inscription SAG-KU-Si is not a Sumerian or Akkadian name.

Gadd no. 2. Bull with a lowered head on the face; five signs.

Gadd no. 5 (no. 630 in Legrain 1951). Animal seems to be a bull with pointed tail reminiscent of SSVC types.

Gadd no. 6 (no. 632 in Legrain 1951). Cylinder seal. Humped bull faces a palm tree. Below its face a star-shaped object. Behind the bull: a scorpion and 2 (?) snakes and above is perhaps a human figure placed horizontally with very long arms and legs and ray (?) about his head.

Gadd no. 7 (Excavation no. U 11958). Cylinder seal. White shell. Palm tree. On either side a humpless bull with a single horn. (The bull on the right has its back towards the tree). Two objects above the bull may be tops of two palm trees. Below them are two cross-hatched objects which look like the fish symbol (or what Woolley calls an 'unmistakable character of the Indu script.' (Woolley, C.L., 1934, *Ur Excavations II (The Royal Cemetery)*, London).

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Gadd no. 15 (no. 370 in Woolley 1934; Excavation no. U 8685). Find site associated with a pair of gold ear-rings and a number of beads of lapis lazuli, carnelian, steatite and copper. Double-horned bull (humped?). A number of signs above.

Gadd no. 16 (no. 285 in Woolley 1934). Bull. Four signs.

Woolley (1934, pl. 215) attached considerable significance to his seal no. 9 (Excavation no. U 11181) discovered in Private Grave no. 791 in the Royal Cemetery. Rectangular stamp seal. Steatite. A scorpion and a sign. Woolley noted:
"the use of the ancient Indian script and commercial relations between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley" dated the find to the pre-dynastic phase of Ur. On cylinder seal 77 (Excavation no. U 12087; Woolley 1934, pl. 192) crosslines may represent a reed hut and also seen is a water carrier 'like pictorgraph of the old Indian script.' Cylinder seal 250 (Excavation no. U 11462; Woolley 1934, pl. 210). Dark steatite. A seated woman and servant, both holding pointed objects – arrowheads or daggers. Three similar points in the depicted field are 'not unlike a sign of the Indus script of Mohenjodaro (no. 119)'.

It is a reasonable conjecture that the round seals were for the Indus-Persian Gulf-Mesopotamian trade.

Umma (Tell Johka). An impressed square clay sealing with at least ten Indus signs (Schiel, VE, 1925, Un nouveau scean Hindon pseudo-Sumerian, *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archeologie Orientale*, Vol. XXII, pp. 55-56). This sealing clearly indicates a receipt of goods from the Indus and the possible presence of Indus traders in Mesopotamia. In Tell Asmar, the occurrence of seals was reinforced by ceramics found in Akkadian houses: knobbed ware, etched beads and kidney shaped inlay of bone all paralled in SSVC. [CC Lamberg-Karlovsky, Trade mechanisms in Indus-mesoporamian interrelations, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 92, No.2, April-June 1972, p. 224]

Kish. Square seal (Illustrated by Mackay, E., 1925, Sumerian connections with ancient India, *JRAS*, 697-701). Steatite. Bull with a standard deice below his neck. Three (?) signs. Another rectangular steatite seal with a bull, standard device and 9 signs. A third seal (provenance unknown) in Iraq museum may also have come from Kish. Bull, standard device, six signs.

Lagash. Round seal. Bull with lowered head and 5 signs. (Sarzec, E. de and Heuzey, I., 1884-1912. *Decouvertes en Chaldee*, I, Paris). Soft greenish stone. Resembles Gadd nos. 16 and 17 from Ur. A second seal is rectangular with 2 signs. (Genouillac, H. de., 1936, *Fouilles de Telloh*, II, Paris).

Tell Asmar. Cylinder seal. Grey steatite. An elephant and a rhinoceros standing in a line, as if in a procession, with a crocodile above. The design appears on a Mohenjodaro seal (No. 14, Marshall, 1931, pl. CXVI). 'A peculiar network of lines such as appears on the elephant's ear in the Indian seal extends over the whole of his head and trunk in the Tell Asmar cylinder. The way in which the ears of the rhinoceros seem to be implemented on two little stems is also a feature connecting our cylinder seal with the Indus valley seal." (Frankfort, H., 1933, *Tell Asmer, Khafaja and Khorsabad*, Chicago). A second seal is square with concentric squares as the design; outermost square is a bead-design comparable to SSVC types of geometric patterns. (Marshall, 1931, pl. CXIV, 516; Vats, 1944, pl. XCV, 395).

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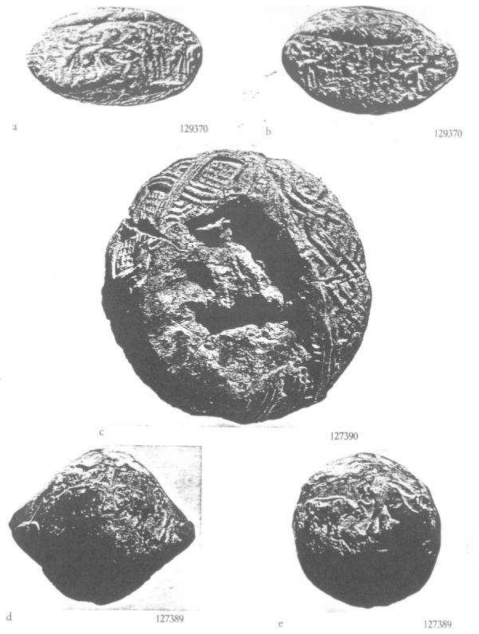
Mesopotamian pictorial motifs comparable with SSVC motifs

The closest contact areas were Mesopotamian and Harappan, though constituting distinct linguistic areas. The following types of commodities are imported by Mesopotamia from Makkan and Meluhha: metal and metal objects, precious metals, stone and stone objects (lapis lazuli), semi-precious stones, trees (sissoo-tree: mes-makanna) and wooden objects, boats, reeds, plants and plant derivatives, and animals.



Seal impressions: Chagar bazar; BM 129370; Wiseman, opcit, 1962, Pl. 32a-b; Lump bearing four impressions of the same seal. Hero stands before stag attacked by lion, another lion (crossing) fights bull; Clay. Seal Impressions from Nineveh; all impressions shown on Plate 32c, d and e are from Kuyunjik (X.15; H.17): BM 127390; Wisema, opcit, 1962, Pl. 32c; Large jar stopper bearing two seal impressions, one rolled round three-quarters of the edge. Trees-pattern with crossed lines between; guilloche with hachuring. Baked clay. L.A.A.A. XX, 1933, Pl. LXV; Jamdat Nasr period. BM 127389; Pl. 32d-e; Bulbous shaped clay sealing, pierced for string attachment. Two bulls, back to back. Baked clay (L.A.A.A. XVIII,1930, p. 82, pl. XXII, 10.

The following Proto-Elamite type and Early Dynastic Period cylinder seals of the Uruk Period depict motifs which are paralleled in the motifs of the Sarasvati Sindhu Civilization, thus attesting to the contacts, most of which related to trade in metallic weapons (as inferred from the decipherment of inscriptions as lists of weapons.)

"...contact and trade with Mesopotamia were factors contributing to the development and growth of the Indus Valley civilization, established in an area known to the Sumerians as the land of Melukkha. So close was the relationship that the traders of Dilmun used the same system of weights and measures as that found in the Indus Valley. From the figures given in Sumerian texts it would appear that the Dilmun shekel was about three times heavier than the standard Sumerian one...The amount of copper involved in this trade was quite considerable. One text from Ur (UET 5, 796), dated to the reign of Rim-Sin of Larsa (1822-1763 BC), records the receipt in Dilmun of 611 talents, 6 2/3 minas of copper (presumably from Magan). This shipment, according to the text, was weighed according to the standard of Ur, giving a modern equivalent of 18,333 kilograms (40,330 pounds) of copper. One-third of this copper was earmarked for delivery to Ea-na_s.ir of Ur, a merchant who had close connections with Magan and the Dilmun copper trade...The recovery of fine gold particles from streams, making use of the woolly fleece of sheep (the famous Golden Fleece of Greek legend), was still practised in Afghanistan well into the twentieth century... Greek geographer Strabo (first century BC) does refer to tin from Drangiana, Iranian Seistan (15.2.10), a reference that certainly could be seen within the context of an overland trade route through Shahr-i-Sokhta and Mundigak and on to Susa..."(Muhly, James D., 1995, , in: Jack M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Vol. I, pp. 1501-1521).

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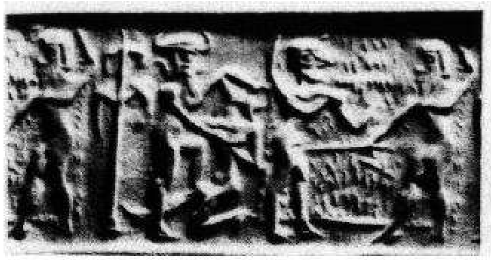
['Tin is said to exist in Asia Minor, and the Greek historian Strabo declares that it was produced in Drangiana, west of the modern Afghanistan, a district partly coinciding with Khorassan, where its presence has been confirmed. It is also found in other parts of Persia, near Asterabad and Tabriz, and the allusion to it in Numbers xxxi as part of the spoils of Midian, suggests that there may even have been mines in north-west Arabia. From such sources as these the tin used in casting the earliest bronze may have been derived, but it must be confessed that we are here in a region of conjecture where probability has to take the place of evidence...Malay peninsula, an extremely rich stanniferous region, does not appear to have been mined in very ancient times.' British Museum, 1904, *A Guide to Antiquities of Bronze Age*, London, British Museum, p. 9]



This is an unprovenanced cylinder seal impression, but is clearly dependent on Akkadian glyptic for part of its design though the two duelling figures do not adopt a Mesopotamian posture. Fribourg 57 (Schmidt 220); dark green stone; Collon, 1987, Fig. 603.

Failaka island, Kuwait. The distinctive skirts, the undercut chins and the legs of the nude figures dividing at the waist are typical Sumer motifs. Kuwait Museum; grey steatite; Kjaerum, 1983, No. 373; Collon, 1987, Fig. 604.

Bronze Age of proto-historic times is a cultural revolution perhaps second in importance only to the Industrial Revolution of modern times.

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Cup with a frieze of gazelles. 1st millennium BCE. Northwestern Iran. Gold. 2.6 in. high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Bronze vessel with friezes of animals, early 1st millennium BCE. Northwestern Iran. 13.7 in. high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Kneeling bull holding a spouted vessel, 3100-2900 BCE Proto-Elamite period. Southwestern Iran. Silver. 6.4 in. high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Decline in Trade with Mesopotamia

Material and cultural exchange occurred between the Sarasvati-Sindhu Valley proper and Omani Peninsula, Sumer, the Iranian plateau, Afghanistan, and the northwestern region of the Indian subcontinent. Harappan sites which were sources of ocean materials such as shell and with proximity to Persian Gulf trade routes were: Sutkagan Dor in Makran; Bala Kot in eastern Makran; Lothal in Gujarat. Shortugai in Badakhshan, Afghanistan, was close to the lapis mines. Navajot Lahiri, however, questions the need for 'imports' into the civilization since many resources were largely accessible in either (a) conjoining regions, such as Gujarat (b) regions within the civilization distribution area, such as Sind and Baluchistan, or (c) regions, which while being geographically outside the larger hinterland of the Bari doab displayed clear cultural contacts with the Indus civilization; Afghanistan and Rajasthan are two such areas (Lahiri 1990:431). She observes: "The present discussion has sought to highlight the abundance of raw materials available to Harappa within the distribution zone of the civilization itself or along its peripheries. Clearly, the importance that has been attached by South Asian archaeologists to the regions west of Baluchistan, whether it is the rich sources of copper in Oman or the presence of carnelian in the Persian Gulf, is misplaced. While there may have been raw materials involved in the long distance trade between the Indus Valley, the Persian Gulf, Iran, and Mesopotamia, we see no reason to argue that Harappa or any other sites of the Indus Civilization were in any way solely or even significantly dependent on the regions to the west for such raw materials." (Lahiri 1990:441).

There was, however, trade with the west in chlorite/soft-stone vessels, indicating some level of cultural interaction. (Kohl 1979:81).

Ghosh notes (in the context of trade between Meluhha and Mesopotamia) that "the cessation of trade at about 1900 BCE must have had an adverse effect on the prosperity of the Harappan Civilization and must therefore have been one of the factors leading to the decay of the cities, to the de-urbanization of the civilization and to the dispersal of the population" (Ghosh 1980: 322).

The Sarasvati-Sindhu Valley Civilization was an essentially indigenous development and hence, the trade with Mesopotamia should have been only a marginal factor in explaining the decline in riverine-maritime trade. It would appear that since the desiccation of the waterway, the River Sarasvati had such a devastating impact on riverine movement of products of the civilization, the exports of goods from the civilization to Mesopotamia stopped and hence the Sumeians and Mesopotamians might have looked to other sources such as Egypt.

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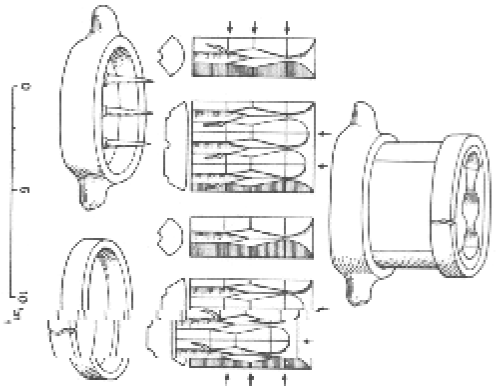
Heaven and Earth (rodasi_) are invoked to cast the procreative energies in the sacrificers for the welfare of mankind: asme retah sin~catam yanmanurhitam (RV 6.70.2). The next r.ca (RV 6.70.3) beings of various forms are assumed to be born because of the invogorating power sprinkled by the Heaven and Earth: yuvoh sikta_ vis.uru_pa_n.i savrata).

He (Rudra) bestowing on his worshippers the gift (of wealth) and the defeat (of their foes), casting down (the ra_ks.asas) with his weapons, has constructed the altar; rapid in movement, most fierce in speech, and shedding the procreative fluid like water around: sa idda_na_ya dabhya_ya vanvancyava_nah su_dairamimi_ta vedim tu_rvaya_n.o gu_rtavacastamah ks.odo na reta ita u_ti sincat (RV 10.61.). Rudra created the As'vins by this fluid. The sprinkling referred to here is the process of casting, sic. That sic refers to creative energy is emphasized in RV 10.184.1 which explains creation as the procreative seed cast by Praja_pati in the womb created by Vis.n.u: vis.n.uryonim kalpayatu tvas.t.a_ ru_pa_n.i pim.s'atu a_ sincatu praja_patirdha_ta garbham dadha_tu te: May Vis.n.u construct the womb, may Tvas.t.r. fabricate the forms, may Praja_pati sprinkle (cast the seed), may Dha_tr. cherish the embryo. The reference is apparently to the casting of metal in the mould. Atharva Veda refers to the casting of the thunderbolt by Br.haspati: yamasincat.

"...interpreting the word *a_hata*, Prof. Pathak concludes that the word *a_hata* in the sense of beaten or stamped must have been used later as found in Vinaya-Pit.aka (*lakkhan.a_hatam*) and Ka_s'ika (*nighat.ika ta_d.ana*), but its oroginal meaning even in the As.t.a_dhya_yi of Pa_n.ini were 'ru_pa_da_hata' is referred in the sense of moulding coin and not in the sense of stamping or punching. (1981: 13-15; 1982, A_hata: a semantic study, *JNSI*, XLIV, 97 ff. loc.cit. B.R. Mani, The search of metals and techniques for minting earliest coins in India, in: Vibha Tripathi (ed.), 1998, *Archaeometallurgy* in India, Delhi, Sharada Publishing House). Atharva Veda (1.11-4) uses the word *a_hata* (root: *han*) to mean 'filled within, enveloped in'. This is compared with Indo-European *gwhen*, meaning 'to fill in'. The old Persian inscription of Darius I from Susa uses the word *a_jata* in the context of bricks which are moulded.

Mudra_ (muhar) and *sikka_* denote die-truck and (cast) coins; R.gveda attests the compound *lopa_mudra_* (*lup*, to pierce or to strike; Semant. 'strike': Lithuanian *lanpyati*; Russian *lupit*; Serbo-Croatian *lupiti*; *rup* may be a variant of *lup*, *ru_pa* = a stamped object like a rupaya_; cf. Akkadian *muzra* = written object or writing of Assyrian *musrau* -- seal, writing; Persian *muhr* = coin, seal, signet ring); Atharvaveda attests the root *sic* (semant. casing metal or pouring molten ore), like casting of thunderbolt by Br.haspati of the A_n:girasa clan: *vajram yamasincat*a. In Pa_li, sitthaka denotes a bee-wax mould. In Syrian and Ramaic sykta denoted a coin-mould. Arabic and Persian forms are: sikkatun, sikka_; the lexeme sikka_ reverted to India in medieval times and was used to connote a coin. (Pathak, V.S., 1981, A semantic study of numismatic terms, Presidential address at the 68th annual conference, *JNSI*, XLIII,I: 1-18).



Detailed drawing of the Neo-Assyrian bronze mould shown closed in plate VIIIA (drawing after H. Maryon, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 65 (1961), pl. 72, fig. 17; cf. PRS Moorey, 1994, fig. 18)

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aks.a = mould; akka = metal; the sign 176 may, therefore, be a determinative affirming the metal (either by itself as a sign or in ligature with other signs), as listed in the bill of lading message communicated by the inscription.

3229.Image: mould, matrix: sa_ca_ a mould or matrice (Ka.); sa_ca_ (M.H.)(Ka.lex.) san.cha, san.chi a small mould or stamp; a division of a book consisting of eight or ten leaves; sachcha a mould, a stamp (P.lex.) 6.Mould: cf. accu stamp, impression, sign (Ka.); stamp, impression, print, mould (Te.)(DEDR 47). san~caka- mould (Skt.); saca_, sacca_ mould (P.)(CDIAL 13096). Metal: akka, aka (Tadbhava of arka) metal; akka metal (Te.); cf. aka-sa_le the workshop of a goldsmith; a goldsmith (Ka.)(Ka.lex.) accu a mould; what has been formed with a mould; accu-bella boiled treacle poured into a mould and thus made into a cake; accu-mara a wooden mould (Ka.lex.) acca_n- cast from a mould; accu mould (Ta.Te.Ma.)(Ta.)(Ta.lex.) cf. ac- mould for casting iron (Ko.); acci form, model (Tu.)(DEDR 47). cf. aks.a (Skt.lex.) Weight of gold: accu, aks.a a certain weight of gold, kars.a; ?nis.ka (Ka.Skt.)(Ka.lex.)

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Sarasvati Civilization

An overview

A historical project in search of River Sarasvati to discover our roots, has become a magnificent opportunity for national resurgence and to make Bharat a developed nation.

This is presented in three sections: observations, conclusions and areas for further research.

Observations

Many sparks have emerged from the anvils of scholars and researches of a variety of disciplines – all focused on the roots of civilization of Bharat.

Collated together, these sparks have become a floodlight which throws new light on the civilization of Bharat.

It is a new light on the civilization because of the following reasons:

- A mighty river, a river mightier than Brahmaputra had drained in North-west Bharat for thousands of years prior to 1500 BCE (Before Common Era).

- The collective memory of a billion people, carried through traditions built up, generation after generation, recalls a river called Sarasvati; this memory is enshrined in the celebration of a Mahakumbha Mela celebrated every 12 years at a place called Prayag where the River Ganga joins with River Yamuna. River Sarasvati is also shown as a small monsoon-fed stream in the topo-maps of Survey of India and in village revenue records in Punjab and Haryana.

> Yet, the tradition holds that there is a triven.i san:gamma (confluence of three rivers). The third river is River Sarasvati. This tradition has now been established as a scientific fact – ground truth -- thanks to the researches carried out using satellite imageries, geo-morphological studies, glaciological and seismic studies and even the use of tritium analysis (of traces of tritium present in the bodies of water found in the middle of the Marusthali desert) by atomic scientists. The desiccation of the river was caused by plate tectonics and river migrations between 2500 and 1500 BCE.
>
> These studies have established beyond any doubt that River Sarasvati was a mighty river because it was a confluence of rivers emanating from Himalayan glaciers; the River Sutlej and River Yamna were anchorage, tributary rivers of River Sarasvati. The river had drained over a distance of over 1,600 kms. from Manasarovar glacier (W. Tibet) to Somnath (Gujarat) with an average width of 6-8 kms. At Shatrana (south of Patiala), satellite image shows a 20 km. wide palaeo-channel (ancient course), at the confluence of five streams – Sutlej, Yamuna, Markanda, Aruna, Somb – referred to as Pan~ca Pra_ci_ Sarasvati in Bharatiya tradition. This becomes Saptatha Dha_ra Sarasvati when two other streams – Dr.s.advati and Ghaggar – join the River Sarasvati at Sirsa.

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- A civilization was nurtured on the banks of this River Sarasvati as recognized through the work of archaeologists and the geographical/historical facts contained in ancient texts of Bharat, such as the *Mahabharata* and *Pura_n.a*. This civilization was an indigenous evolution from earlier than 10000 BCE and can be said to be one of the oldest civilizations in the world, heralding the Vedic heritage.

Over 2,000 archaeological sites have been discovered in the Sarasvati River Basin. There is a description, in 200 s'lokas, in the S'alya Parva of Mahabharata of a pilgrimage undertaken by Balarama, elder brother of Kr.s.n.a, along the River Sarasvati from Dwaraka to Yamunotri.

- The oldest extant human document is the R.gveda which is a compilation of 11,000 r.ca-s perceived by hundreds of seers. An understanding of this document is fundamental to an understanding of the cultural ethos of Bharat.
- R.gveda presents a world-view in allegorical and metaphorical terms perceiving an essential unity in cosmic phenomena and r.ta (a rhythm which modulates the terrestrial and celestial events alike). While the document presents the early philosophical thought related to *dharma*, it also describes the lives and activities of people – the Bharatiya. R.gveda thus presents a variegated picture covering a variety of facets of a maritime-riverine civilization, such as transport systems, agriculture, use of fire, minerals and metals to produce household utensils, ornaments, tools and weapons. Archaeologists have unearthed many examples of technology used in the days of the Sarasvati Civilization (from circa 3500 BCE to 1500 BCE). These provide evidence for the evolution of s'ankha industry in 6500 BCE, preparation of alloys such as pan~caloha, bronze, brass, pewter and bell-metal.
- A dialectical continuum has existed in Bharat from the days of R.gveda and Sarasvati Civilization. The civilization constituted a linguistic area, as it is even today in Bharat. Mleccha was a language spoken by Vidura and Yudhis.t.hira as evidenced by *Mahabharata*. Mleccha were vra_tya-s who worked with minerals and metals. The semantic structures (words and meanings) of all languages of Bharat – Munda, Dravidian or Indo-Aryan categories – present an essential unity among the speakers of various dialects of Bharat. The seven volume work on Sarasvati substantially draws upon the *Indian Lexicon*, which is a comparative dictionary of over 25 ancient languages of Bharat.
- Using this lexical repertoire of the linguistic area called Bharat, it has been possible to crack the code of the epigraphs of the civilization inscribed on over 4,000 objects including seals, tablets, weapons and copper plates. The epigraphs are composed of hieroglyphs (referred to as Mlecchita Vikalpa – picture writing --, one of the 64 arts listed by Va_tsya_yana).

> The code of hieroglyphs is based on rebus (use of similar sounding words and depicted through pictures) and represent the property possessions of braziers – possessions such as furnaces, minerals, metals, tools and weapons. These were also traded over an extensive area upto Tigris-Euphrates river valley in Mesopotamia and the Caspian Sea in Europe.

- The tradition of epigraphy evidenced in punch-marked coins and copper plate inscriptions in the context of Sarasvati Epigraphs points to millions of manuscripts and documents remaining unexplored all over Bharat.

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- Desiccation of River Sarasvati is a warning to us about the unpredictability of the impact of tectonics on hydrological systems sourced from the Himalayas, for e.g. the Rivers Ganga and Brahmaputra.
- Ongoing projects for the rebirth of River Sarasvati has opened a new vista in water management in Bharat, which has an ancient tradition of water management exemplified by the rock-cut reservoir in Dholavira, the grand anicut on Kaveri, the step wells and pus.karin.is in all parts of Bharat.

Conclusions

- River Sarasvati is neither a legend, nor a myth, but ground-truth, a river which was flowing for thousands of years prior to Vedic times.
- Bharatiya Civilization is an indigenous evolution and cultural continuity is established from the Vedic times to the present day.
- For thousands of years before the days of Mahabharata War (ca. 3000 BCE), the Bharatiya had contacts with neighbouring civilizations.
- The historicity of *Mahabharata* has been established making it a sheet anchoe of Bharatiya Itiha_sa.
- After the desiccation of River Sarasvati (finally by about 3000 years ago), Bharatiya-s moved to other parts of the world.
- The metaphor of Samudra manthanam (celebrated in the *Bha_vata Pura_n.a*) is a depiction of the reality of a cooperating society which had united all the people of Bharat into life-activities including the environmentally sustainable use of natural resource offered by Mother Earth (Bhu_devi).
- Sarasvati is adored in Bharatiya tradition as a river, as a mother and as a divinity – *ambitame, nadi_tame, devitame sarasvati.* This is an abiding spiritual foundation which resides in the heart of every Bharatiya.
- The epigraphs evidence one of the early writing systems of the world.
- The search and discovery of River Sarasvati has revealed a thread of essential unity – a bond among the people of Bharat. This has emerged from Vedic times and continues even today. This is the unity of an integral society, a resurgent nation and a unified culture which can be found in all parts of Bharat, from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean.
- Research Institutions have to be established in different disciplines of historical studies to study the manuscripts and documents in the archival collections in all parts of the country.
- The initiation of a project for interlinking of rivers is a laudable, first step in creating a National Water Grid which has the potential to ensure equitable distribution of water resources to all parts of the country and to make Bharat a developed nation in 15 years' time.

  > The establishment of the Water Grid is a national imperative and should be an unmotivated action (*l'acte gratuite*) devoid of political overtones.

- The establishment of an inter-disciplinary Sarasvati Research Centre in Kurukshetra will help in progressing further researches on water resources management, and study of our history, heritage and culture.

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Areas for further researches

- Glaciological researches are needed in relation to the glacial source of River Sarasvati which is referred to as *Plaks.a Pras'ravan.a* in the ancient texts.
- Seismological studies are needed to determine the chronology of events connected with the submergence of Dwaraka, the Gulf of Khambat and other coastal regions of Bharat.
- Meteorological, glaciological and seismological studies have to be related to plate tectonics – the dynamic Indian plate and the evolving Himalayas – for a better understanding of the hydrological systems, sustainability and management of a National Water Grid for Bharat.
- Archaeological work on the 2,000 sites on Sarasvati River Basin have to be related to the events described in the ancient epics: *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*
- The Vedic texts, epics and Purana-s contain historical information.which can be validated through archaeological, astronomical and geographical studies.
- Epigraphical and language studies in relation to the evolution and spread of languages and scripts of Bharat.
- Scholars have to be encouraged to study the unexplored manuscripts lying in museums, libraries and private collections.
- Researches for establishing the National Water Grid should be objective and provide a new vision to reach out the water and agricultural resources of the country, equitably, to all people and for the development of the nation.

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End Notes

[1] **Age of the R.gveda**

"In the nineties of the 19th century, a hot controversy raged round the problem of the determination of age of the R.gveda. It was B.G. Tilak who set the ball rolling in 1893 by publishing his famous ORION, in which he tried to prove the antiquity of the Veda by means of literary and astronomical evidence, viz. that it began in 4000 BC. Absolutely in an independent way, working at Bonn, far away from Poona where Tilak had his residence, H.G. Jacobi had arrived almost at the same time at a conclusion by his careful study of the Vedas and the Bra_hman.as that the anient Indo-Aryans knew of a Naks.atra-series viz. the Mr.gas'iras-series older than the Kr.ttika_-series which lasted according to Tilak from about 5000 BC to 3000 BC in which the R.gveda was composed. Jacobi was of opinion that the beginning of Vedic literature should be placed in 4500 BC...Buhler's reaction to the almost identical views of the two scholars resulted in the publication of his 'Note on Professor Jacobi's Age of the Veda and Professor Tilak's ORION' in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1894 (September), in which he declared that both of them had made good their main proposition,viz.that the ancient Indo-Aryans had once an older Series of the Naks.atras with Mr.gas'iras at the vernal equinox...In my Presidential Address at the 19th session of the Indian History Congress at Agra in 1956 (Indian Historical Quarterly, vol.No.4 (Dec. 1956), Supplement), the date of Manu the first of the Indo-Aryan kings aas 3966 or 4000 BC was arrived at in the following way approximately, whose sacrifices are mentioned in the RV. The beginning of the reign of Candra Gupta Maurya in 322 BC and of 9 Nandas and 6 later S'is'una_gas from Bimbisa_ra to Maha_nandin for 100 years and 169 years respectively are found recorded in history, the total number of years that passed between Bimbisa_ra and the beginning of the Christian era is therefore 591. Prior to Bimbisa_ra, there were 125 kings viz. 4 undated or 5 earlier S'is'una_gas, 5 Pradyotas, 22 Br.hadrathas after Bha_rata War, and 94 kings (including Manu, and excluding Abhimanyu who did not reign) before them. (See the Vedic Age, ed. by RC Majumder, Pusalkar's list of traditions kings). No dated historical record is available about them, but of their names and in some cases their activities were memorised by a special class of people and handed down from generation to generation, in the form of Pura_n.as.This historical tradition is much helpful in reconstructing the ancient history. In my Address, each of these kings has been allotted on the analogy of Toynbee 27 years on average, thus giving us 125 X 27 plus 591 or 3966 years BC as the date of Manu. The reason for accepting 27 on average as the length of reign for each king of historical tradition is that Toynbee in his 'Study of History, Vol. X, p. 172, describes how more than ten eminent Western scholars, though differing widely in regard to the dates of the beginning and end of the First Babylonian Dynasty, agree that 11 kings reigned for 300 years, i.e. each king reigned for 27.27 years on average. .27 years has been drafted and 27 years adopted as the average length of reign of left out Indo-Aryan king each...

"What M. Winternitz did (in his *History of Indian Literature*, Eng. tr. Vol.1, 1927) was nothing more than the fixing of the lowest limit. Winternitz considers that the placing of the R.gveda between 1200 BC and 1000 BC is hypothetical and arbitrary, and regrets that this notion "in the course of years, received more and more the dignity and character of a scientifically proved fact (p.293)." ..He considered 1200 to 1000 BC as the lowest limit...

"Among the documents found by Hugo Winckler in the excavations at Bogh'az Koi (Asia Minor) in 1907, some Hittite clay tablets were discovered recording treaties between Subbiluliuma, the king of Hittites, and Mattiurja, the king of Mitanni, dated about 1400 BC. The deities of both the nations are invoked as guardians of the treaties. The names of Mitra, Varun.a, Indra, and Na_satyas (i.e. the two As'vins) are found among the Mitanni deities. ila_ni mi-it-ra-as.-s.i-il ila_ni uru-w-na-as.-s.i-el (Variant) a-ru-na as.-s.i-il ilu in-dar ila_ni na_-s.a-a(t-ti-ia-a)-n.na (Variant) in-da-ra na_-s.(a)-at.ti-ia-an.na The discovery of the five Indian gods caused some perplexity among the scholars, specially because the names were grouped together in the same way as in the R.gveda. Jacobi states that the two groupings

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establish the Vedic origin and character of the deities which were adopted into the Mitanni pantheon. For this reason, any suggestion pointing to date the R.gveda later than about 1400 BC is an impossibility. (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol.1, pp. 304-306). This view is accepted by Sten Konow, Hillerbrandt, and Winternitz. For the explanation of the association of the Vedic deities with those of Mitanni, Winternitz remarks that an assumption is necessary that just as there had been immigration of the Aryans into India from the West, so there must have been isolated migrations of the Aryans from India to the West. [To this may be added the names of In-tar-u-da or En-dar-u-ta in the el-Amarna letters; explained as 'beloved of Indra'.] [Note: The dethroning of Indra in the Avestan tradition and making Indra, a demon is an indication that the tradition has to be dated after ca.1400 BC, the date of the Mitanni treaty invoking Indra as a god, to witness the treaty].

"Astronomical evidence on the ageof the R.gveda. Scholars have attempted to establish the age of the R.gveda with the helpof astronomical evidence, collected from the R.gveda and other Vedic literature...Tilak calls the period from 5000 BC to 3000 BC the Orion Period, as during these 2000 years, the vernal equinox passed gradually from the commencement of the asterism Orion (Mr.gas'iras) to that of the next, viz. Pleiades (Kr.ttika_s).Many hymns of the R.gveda (including the Vr.s.a_kapi hymn) were in existence at that time...

"R.bhus are three in number -- R.bhu, Vibhva_ and Va_ja. They represent three seasons in a year recognised in the early Vedic period. (*S'atapatha Bra_hman.a* also mentions 3 divisions of the year: xiv.1.1.28)...

RV1.161.13: Oh R.bhus! you were asleep; thereafter ask Agohya, who is it that woke us up. The He-goat replied, 'the hound (s'va_nam) is the awakener'. As the year is passed, today you declare the same.

"...The spirits of the seasons stop work for 12 (intercalated for a lunar year) days and go to sleep. This period belongs neither to the old nor to the new year. It is therefore natural to hold that the hound is some constellation in the heavens, whose appearance indicated the beginning of the year. This hound is none other than the Dog-staror Canis Major. Thus, when the first of the seasons i.e. Vasanta appears, the Dog-star is found in the sky. 'In short, the whole story of the R.bhus, as we find it recorded in the R.gveda, directly establishes the fact that at the time when this legend was formed, the year commenced with the vernal equinox in Canis Major or Dog-star' (*The Orion*, p.169). The end of the year is the end of the three seasons here represented by the R.bhus...

"As the ancient Indo-Aryans converted the lunar year into a solar one by adding 12 days after a year of 354 days or one month (30 days) after two years and a half, the 366 days in the year contained an error of 3/4 day in each year...The six seasons have six presiding deities (A_dityas). The 7th A_ditya presides over the 7th season of one month. The number of A_dityas presiding over seasons is said to be 8...The 8th A_ditya is the presiding deity of one month that has to be thrown away after each 40 years. The fact is that if we admit that in each year 94 366 days an error of 3/4th of a day creeps in, we have also to admit that after 40 years the error becomes as big as one month (because 40X3/4 = 30 days)...The Indo-Aryans corrected the error by deducting one month from a year after every 40 years...Evidence of this correction is found in the following verse of the RV:

RV10.72.8-9: Eight sons (there were) of Aditi who were born from her body; she approached the gods with seven, but threw away Ma_rta_n.d.a. In a former yuga, Aditi went with seven sons, but she bore Ma_rta_n.d.a again for the sake of death. (ma_rta + an.d.a = dead egg).

RV 2.12.11: He, who discovered S'ambara dwelling in the mountains for forty years; who slew Ahi, growing in strength, and the sleeping son of Danu; he, men, is Indra.

(See Jogech Ch. Ray, *Veder Devata_ O Kr.s.t.ika_la* (Vedic gods and age of Vedic culture), 1954, pp. 88ff.)

"...The Vr.s.a_kapi hymn (RV 10.86), remarkable in many ways, may be cited as an evidence of the antiquity of the R.gveda...Vedic people offer new sacrifices to Vr.s.a_kapi. Indra_n.i_ takes this as an affront to her Lord and becomes very angry with Vr.s.a_kapi, who, she thinks, is responsible for all this mischief. She makes up her mind to punish him. She says that she will not be satisfied till she can set the Dog, eager for a chase of hog, on Vr.s.a_kapi (harito mr.gah, the yellow antelope) to bite him in ear, or

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behead the evil-doer...Vr.s.a_kapi is used to convey aspecial meaning viz. the sun at the autumnal equinox, with the Dog-star (a part of Mr.gas'iras) in the background, and the equinoctial year begins...

"A complete hymn of the R.gveda viz. 7.103 is devoted to the description and praise of the Frogs...Macdonell (*History of Sanskrit Literature*) thinks that 'the awakening of the frogs at the beginning of the rainy season is here described with a graphic power which will doubtless be appreciated best by those who have lived in India. The poet compares the din of this croaking with the chants of the priests exhilarated by Soma, and with the clamour of pupils at school repeating the words of their teacher'. (p.121)...three hymns (101 - 103) of the 7th man.d.ala of the R.gveda are all prayers to the god of the clouds (Parjanya) for shower of rain...Sa_yan.a following S'aunaka in the R.gvidha_na states that if prayer is made in the aforesaid manner, rain would surely fall on the 5th night...one word of the verse dva_das'asya

RV 7.103.9 They observe the sacred order, never forget the proper time of the TWELFTH (month), these men. As soon as in the year the raintime has come, the hot glow of the sun finds its end (Jacobi). They observe the sacred order of the YEAR, they never forget the proper time, those men, as soon as in the year of the rain-time has come, the hot glow of the sun finds its end (Keigi and Geldner).

"...Jacobi concludes that he has for the R.gveda 'a year beginning with rainy season, the most obvious and in general most regular division of time, from which the later Hindus called the Varsha_ or abda (= ap + da, rain-giving).' The first rain comes about the summer solstice...

"The Sam.vatsara Sattra or year-long sacrifice in the shape of gava_m ayana, a_ditya_na_m ayana, an:girasa_m ayana etc. occupied a very important place in the life of the ancient Indo-Aryan people...

"Taittiri_ya Sam.hita_ vii.4.8...Tilak translates :'...They should consecrate themselves for the sacrifice four days before the full-moon. Their KRAYA (i.e. the purchase of Soma) fallson the Eka_s.t.aka_. Thereby they do not render the Eka_s.t.aka_ void (i.e. of no consequence). Their SUTYA_ (i.e., the extraction of Soma juice) falls in the first (i.e., the bright) half (of the month). Their months (i.e., the monthly sacrifices fall in the first half. They rise (i.e. finish their sacrifice) in the first half. On their rising, herbs and plants riseafter them. After them rises the good fame that these sacrifices have prospered. Thereon all prosper.' (*The Orion*, pp. 46,47).

NOTE: the purchase of Soma relates to the purchase of the electrum quartz ore. (The Avestan Haoma is not a mineral but a substitute: plant product; thus Avesta post-dates Taittiri_ya Sam.hita_; it will be elaborated elsewhere that CIKLI_TA_ in RV Khila_su_kta as the son of s'ri_ is in fact the 'purchased' soma, the son of Prosperity, S'ri_, mother goddess).

"...In one of the Adhikaran.as, Jaimini discusses the subject and decides in favour of the full-moon in the month of Ma_gha. (Jaimini-Su_tras, vi.5.30-30-37). Jaimini states that those who sacrifice on this full-moon day can purchase Soma on the Eka_s.t.aka_ which is no other than the one mentioned inthe beginning, and that the full-moon must, therefore, be the one next preceding this Eka_s.t.aka_. (*The Orion, p. 52*)...winter solstice fell in the month of Ma_gha...

"The tables of Naks.atras on the basis of the *Su_rya Siddha_nta*, ed. by Whitney, p.211, are appended by Jacobi to his article (p.159)...A reference to them shows that the vernal equinox was in the Kr.ttika_, and the summer solstice in Magha_ about 2500 BC...Jacobi states that the R.gveda, as a mature product, may belong to a later date...but he refers to the civilization as extending from about 4500 to 2500 BC, in the second half of which is to be placed the collection of hymns as they have come down to us...

"Buhler (IA, 1894, p.245) firmly holds that 'arrangement of Naks.atras with the Kr.ttika_s as the vernal equinox is an Indian invention'. He points out that the position of Kr.ttika_ at the vernal equinox was 'astronomically correct about 2550 BC.' (or 2350 BC according to Thibaut)...

"Some of the27 naks.atras arementioned with modified names in the R.gveda. They are: Arjuni_ (i.e. Phalguni_), Agha_ (i.e. Magha_),Tis.ya (i.e. Pus.ya_), Mr.ga (i.e.Mr.gas'iras) and Ahirbudhnya (i.e. Bha_drapada_)... RV10.85.2: Then Soma, the moon, is placed in the lap of the naks.atras...

"The Pole Star. Jacobi notes: 'The Gr.hyasu_tras tell us of a marriage-custom in sncient India, according to which the bride and bridegroom, after they had arrived at their new home, had to sit silently on the hide of a bull, till the stars became visible, whereupon the bridegroom showed his bride the Pole Star,

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called DHRUVA, 'the constant one', and at the same time uttered a prayer, as for example, 'Be constant, prospering in my house', whereto she replied: 'Constant art thou, may I be constant in the house of my husband'. This marriage-custom in which a 'constant star' figures as the symbol of unchangeable constancy, must have originated at a time in which a brighter star stood so near the celestial pole that it seemed, to the observers of that time, to be standing still. Now it is again a result of the precession that, with the gradual alteration of the celestial equator, its North Pole also moves away, describing in about 26,000 years a circle of 23 1/2 degrees radius around the constant pole of the ecliptic. By this means one star after another slowly moves towards the North Pole and becomes North Star or Pole Star; but only from time to time does a brighter star approach the Pole so closely, that it can, for all purposes be regarded as a 'constant one' (dhruva). At present (1927) Alpha, a star of the second magnitude, in the Little Bear, is the Pole Star of the Northern hemisphere...Not until 2780 BC do we meet with another Pole Star which merited this name. At that timne Alpha Draconis stood so near to the Pole for over 500 years that it must have appearted immovable to those who observed with the naked eye. We must, then, place the origin of the name of Dhruva_, as well as the custom of showing the 'constant' star to the bride on her marriage evening as the symbol of constancy, into a period in which Alpha Draconis was Pole Star, that is, in the first half of the third millenary BC.' "

Winternitz (History, p. 298) notes that the S'atapatha Bra_hman.a ii.1.2.3 (Sankar B. Dikshit in IA, 1895, pp. 245,246 translates: Certainly one, two, three, four: so (are) other naks.atras, and these only are many, which (are) Kr.ttika_h: surely (he who consecrates the sacred fires on Kr.ttika_h) gets that plenty of it; (one) should, therefore, consecrate (the sacred fires) on Kr.ttika_h. These, certainly, do not deviate from the eastern direction--eto ha vai pra_cyai dis'o na cyavante. All other naks.atras deviate from the eastern direction. His (two sacred fires) become consecrated in the very east. He should, therefore, consecrate (the fires) on Kr.ttika_h) has been wrongly interpreted as Pleiades 'do not swerve from the East', i.e. they rose 'due east' ('which would have been the case in the third millenary BC, and would point to a knowledge of hte vernal equinox'). He interprets the passage that 'they remain visible in the eastern region for a considerable time--during several hours--every night, which was the case about 1100 BC.' Winternitz credits Prey of Prague University for noting that 'about 1100 BC the Pleiades rose approximately 13 degrees to the north of the east point, approaching nearer and nearer the east line, and crossing it as late as 2 hr. 11 mn. after their rise, at a height of 29 degrees, when seen from a place situated at 25 degrees North latitude. They thus remain due east long enough to serve as a convenient basis for orientation'. Baudha_yana S'rautasu_tra 27.5 notes that Pleiades do not depart from the eastern region...According to Jogesh Chandra Ray, the Pleiades remained fixed, as it were, in that position for nearly seven or eight hundred years (3300 BC to 2500 BC), but that does not necessarily indicate that 3000 BC was the date of composition of S'Br. It was composed, according to Ray, within the range of 3300 BC and 2500 BC...

RV 1.26.4 Let Varun.a, Mitra, and Aryaman sit down upon our sacred grass, as they did at the sacrifice of Manus.

RV 9.96.12 As thou (SOMA) didst flow to Manu possessing food, slaying enemies, acquiring wealth, having oblations, so now flow bringing us riches; abide thou in Indra; make manifrest (thy) weapons. [The sacrifice as an institution was older than the R.gveda itself].

[Narendra Nath Law,1965, *Age of the Rigveda*, Calcutta, Firma K.L.Mukhopadhyaya].

[2] The section on vra_tya tradition, draws from the references cited in: V.W. Karambelkar, 1969, Vedic Maha_vrata, in: *KR Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, pp. 159 to 178; Radhakrishna Choudhary, 1964, *The Vra_tyas in Ancient India*, Varanasi, The Chowkhambba Sanskrit Series Office; Chowkhamba Sanskrit tudies,Vol. XXXVIII; and J. Hauer, 1927, Der Vra_tya, Stuttgart.

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[3] "Metal industry. The industry of the Vedic period was mainly concerned with six metals, ayas in the sense of iron, copper or bronze, gold, silver, copper, lead and tin. The last four are found nowhere in the R.gveda, but mentioned in the AV and other Sam.hita_-s and Bra_hman.as.

Gold. Chandra denotes gold in RV and other Vedic texts. (RV 2.2.4; 3.31.5; TS 1.2.7.1; KS 2.6; VS 4.26 and 19.93; S'B 3.3.3.4). Ja_taru_pa is also used in the same sense. (AB 8.13; Br. Upa. 6.4.25 and Naighan.t.uka 1.2). 'rajataja_taru_pe (silver and gold) is mentioned in La_tya_. S'.S. (La_t. S'. S. 1.6.24) and S'a_nkh S'. S. (S'a_n:kh. S'.S. 3.19.9). Hiran.ya in the senswe of gold is frequently referred to in RV and later texts. (RV 1.43.5; 4.10.6; AV 1.9.2; 2.36.7; 5.28.6). The extraction of gold from earth was also known. (RV 1.117.5; AV 13.1.6, 26 and 44). Washing for gold is also noted in TS (TS 6.1.7.1) and S'B. (S'B 2.1.1.5: suretasam-eva kr.tsnam agnim a_dhatte tasma_d-dhiran.yam.sambhavati). Gold was also won from the bed of rivers and that is why the Indus is called hiran.mayi_ in the RV (RV 10.75.8). The Sarasvati_ is also depicted as hiran.yavartani_ (AV 6.61.7). According to Shcrader gold was known to Indo-Aryans, as proved by the similarity between Sanskrit 'hiran.ya' and Zend 'zaranya'. In the plural 'hiran.ya' means ornaments of gold. (RV 1.122.2; VS 15.50). A golden currency, weitghts of gold, as.t.a_prud is mentioned in the KS (KS 11.1) and TS (TS 3.4.1.4). A golden s'atama_na means weight of a hundred kr.s.n.ala-s in S'B (S'B 5.5.3.16) and TS (TS 2.3.11.5). Gold was obtained by smelting from ore, was evidenced in S'B (S'B 6.1.3.5; 13.4.3.1). Gold was an object of gift, as recorded in RV where we learn of the gift of ten lumps of gold, das'a hiran.ya pin.d.a_n to a priest by Divoda_sa. (RV 6.47.23). The AV refers to belief of the people: '...one that dies of old age becomes he who wears it (gold)...For lifetime thee, for splendour thee and for force and strength – that with brilliancy of gold thou mays shine out among the people.' (AV 19.26.1-3).

"The term 'an~ya' or 'an~ji' in the sense of ornaments is found in the RV (chitrai-r-an~jibhi-r-vapus.e vyan~jate vaks.ahsu rukma_ adhi yetire s'ubhe: RV 1.64.4); but the word 'alam.ka_ra' is mentioned for the first time in S'B (S'B 3.5.1.36; 13.8.4.7) and Ch. Upa. (Ch. Up.8.8.5 : pretasya s'ari_ram vasanena_lam.ka_ren.a sam.skurvanti). During marriage gold-ornaments were gifted to the daughter by the father, as for example, nis.ka in RV (2.33.10); kuri_ra in RV (10.85.8) meaning head-ornament, karn.as'obhana, i.e. ear-rings in RV (8.78.3). The AV also mentioned 'tirita' (AV 8.6.7), 'parihasta' (AV 6.71.1-2) meaning 'hand-clasp', according to Whitney, pari_hasta is found in Kaus'ikasu_tra (35.11) as an ornament used as an amulet. The AV refers to pravarta (ear-oranment) (15.2.1), golden amulets (1.35), nis.kagri_va_ (necklace of nis.ka-goins) (5.14.3) and kuri_ra (6.138.2).

"The VS mentions goldsmith (30.17), jeweller (man.ika_ra) (30.7) and golden ornaments (hiran.yaih) (15.50) like opas'a (11.56; cf. TS 4.1.5.3 and PB 4.1.1 and MS 2.7.5). THe S'B refers to 'rukmapa_s'a', a golden chian. (S'B 6.7.1.7). The Br.h. Upa. (tadyatha_ pes'aska_ri_ pes'asya pes'aso ma_tra_m apa_da_ya_nyannavataram kalya_n.ataram ru_pam tanute: Br. Up. 4.4.4), speaks of goldsmith taking a piece of gtold, turns it into another, newer and more beautiful shape. Golden ornaments were worn on the brest even as early as the RV (vaks.ahsu rukma_...: RV 1.166.10). Indra is said to have worn golden ornaments on his hands. (hasta_vajram hiran.mayam: RV 8.68.3). Maruts are also said to have worn golden ornaments like young suitors, sons of wealthy houses. (vara_ iva raivata_so hiran.yaih: RV 5.60.4). Elsewhere, the As'vins are invited to 'ascent the car with golden seats'. (RV 8.5.28-29) The Cha_nd. Upa. (Ch. Up. 4.17) refers to properties of some metals: tad yatha_ lavan.ena suvarn.am samadhya_t suvarn.ena rajatam rajatena trapu trapus.a_ si_sam si_sena loham lohena da_ru da_ru charman.a_, i.e. as gold is joined by salt, silver by gold, zinc by silver, lead by zinc, iron by lead,wood by iron and leather. According to Max Muller lavan.a is 'a kind of ks.a_ra'. (SBE I, p. 71n). It is evidently borax which is still imported from the East Indies under the name of tincal, and used as a flux in chemical processes.

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"Bodha_yana S'.S. mentions goldsmith and blacksmith separately. (BS'S 6.13). S'a_n:khya_yana Gr.h. S. states that in si_mantonnayana the wife is to sing merrily by wearing many gold ornaments. (modamayi_m ga_puyeta maha_m haimavati_m va_: S'Gr.S. 1.22.16-17). Bodh. Gr. S. refers to the system of bedecking with seasonal ornaments in the beginning of every season. (BS'S 2.10.1-8). A_pas. S'.S. draws our eyes in connection with the A_s'vamedha ceremony, to one thousand golden jewels, one thousand silver jewels and one thousand pearls. (A_p. S'S 20.15.9). Ka_tya_yana S'.S. enjoins that all priests, the sacrificer and his wife should put on golden chains before the extraction of soma at Va_japeya. (KS'S 14.1.23-24). The use of ear-rings is also heard of in A_pas. S'.S. (20.2.5), Bodh. S'.S. (10.57) and S'a_n:kh. Gr.h. Su_tra (3.1.18).

"Ayas. It is difficult to determine the sense of this word as used in the RV. (RV 1.57.3; 163.9; 4.2.17; 6.3.5). The epithets of Agni as 'ayodam.s.t.ra' (with teeth of ayas) (RV 1.88.5; 10.87.2), referring to the colour of his flames, and the description of

the car-seat of Mitra and Varun.a as 'ayo-sthu_n.a' (with pillar of ayas) (RV 5.62.8) lead us to assume that it meant more a bronze than iron. Ayas is noted in VS in the list of six metals beside s'ya_ma and loha. (VS 18.13). If s'ya_ma is taken in the sense of black and loha in that of red metal, i.e., as iron and copper respectively, ayas may be better explained as 'bronze'. 'Loha_yasa' in S'B (S'B 5.4.1.1), lit. red metal is either copper or an alloy of copper and some other metal. Loha_yasa in MS (MS 2.11.5) and KS (KS 18.10) also mean copper; whereas s'ya_ma_yasa in AV (AV 9.5.4 and 11.3.7) and Ka_rs.n.a_yasa in Ch. Upa. (Ch. Up. 4.17.7 and 6.1.5; Jaim. Up. Br. 3.17.3) mean iron. Ayas in AV (5.28.1) means definitely iron. yasya_ ayo mukham in RV (RV 6.75.15) describing the arrow as pointed with 'ayas' is also in favour of the sense of iron. Schrader (Prehistoric Antiquites, p. 212) thinks that loha meant originally copper but iron later on.

"The epithets, va_s'imanta, r.s.t.imanta, sudhava_na, is.umanto, nis.an:ginah, sva_yudha_ with reference to Maruts in the RV show the manufacture of weapons, obviously of iron in the R.gvedic age (RV 5.57.2). The RV refers to r.s.t.i or spear, weapons for guarding shoulders and to s'ipra, helments of the Maruts. (RV 5.54.11). The AV mentions a_yudha in the shape of horse-chariot (as'varatha), bows and arrows (is.u-dhanva) and corsselet (kavacha). (AV 7.19.2). The r.c speaks of the warrior, armed with bow and arrows on his chariot and clad in armous (varman) and with a guard (hastaghna) on the left arm. (RV 6.75). Another r.c refers to coarselet as consisting of many pieces fitted together (varmeva syu_tam), made of another metal plates or of soft material plated with metal. (RV 1.31.15). The r.c (gharma-s'-chittapah pravr.je ya a_di_d-ayasmaya-s-tam va_da_ma vipra_h: RV 5.30.15) shows how the singers received the cauldron of metal which was heated for 'pravargya'. (emphasis added). Smelting of the blacksmith is referred to in the RV (brahman.aspati-r-eta_h sam karma_ra iva_dhamat: RV 10.72.2); and in another r.ca (...ayo na deva janima_ dhamantah: RV 4.2.17) where gods are depicted as smelting like ore the human generations. The RV states again that Agni's flames when the smoke is sent forth, reach the heaven as a smelter fans and sharpens fire. (RV 5.9.5; cf. RV 9.112.2). The VS also refers to smelting of iron. (VS 10.27 and 30.14). The Maitra_yan.a Bra_hman.a Upanis.ad refers to the function of a blacksmith: 'Even as a ball of iron pervaded by fire and hammered by smiths, becomes manifrold (i.e. assumes various shapes, large and small), thus the self pervaded by the inner man and hammered by the qualities becomes manifold.' (Maitr. Br. Upa. 3.3).

"The smith manufactured abhri (spade) (AV 4.7.5.6 and VS 5.22), da_tra (sickle) (RV 8.78.10 and Nirukta 2.1), sr.n.ik (sickle) (RV 10.101.3: sr.n.yah pakvam eya_t), and pha_la (ploughshare) (RV 4.57.8 and 10.117.7; cf. KS 19.1) for the purpose of agriculture. Other iron materials were swords (asi) (RV 1.162.20 and RV 10.79.6), axe (paras'u) (RV 1.127.3; 7.104.21; 10.28.8; AV 3.19.4; 7.28.1; S'B 3.6.4.10), iron-hook (ayasmaya) (AV 7.115.1), lance (pavi_ra) (RV 10.60.3), arrows; spears and daggers

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(va_s'i_, r.t.i and is.u) (RV 5.57.2), sharp-edged swords (ayaso dha_ra_m) (RV 6.47.10), sharp-pointed shafts (parn.ino didyava-s-tigma-mu_rdha_nah) (RV 6.46.11) and weapons for protection like mailed armour (varmin.ah) (RV 6.27.6; dra_pi in RV 4.53.2) and helmets (s'ipra) (RV 5.54.11) and anklets for foot (kha_dayah) (RV 5.54.11). We learn also of iron-razor (AV 6.68.1), pair oif nail-scissors (kr.s.na_yasam) (Ch. Up. 6.1.6), iron-nets and fetters of iron (ayoja_la_h... ayasmayaih pa_s'aih) (AV 19.66.1). Iron-forts and iron-castles and iron-posts (drupada_h) are also referred to in AV (AV 19.58.4) and VS (VS 5.8) and AV (AV 6.63.3) respectively. The AV mentions needles made of gold, silver and lead (iron, according to Mahi_dhara) meant for marking out the lines on the body of the sacrificial horse which the knife of the dissector is to follow. (AV 23.37). Iron was also used in amulets, as noted in AV. (AV 5.28.1). The AV (ayoja_la_ asura_ bha_mino'yasmayaih pa_s'ai-r-an:kino ye charanta: AV 19.66.1) speaks of asuras, expert in iron-works and a_suri-vidya_ is frequently referred to in Vedic texts, obviously the technical knowledge of iron-industry. It deserves mention that the modern tribes of Asuras in Chotanagpur plateau are still good iron-smelters. It is interesting to note that iron-axes cleared the jungles in Ganges valley and more alluvial land was brought under cultivation in the Vedic age. The use of the plough, iron-tipped and iron hoe helped the rise of production to a large extent and led to the economic development of the land and her people.

"Man.i is heard of as a jewel in Vedic literature, used as an amulet against all kinds of evil. (RV 1.33.8; AV 1.19.1; TS 7.3.4.1; AB 4.6; Nir. 7.23; Ved. Ind. II, pp. 119-120). Man.igri_va in RFV shows that man.i could be strung on a thread and thus worn round the neck. (RV 1.122.14; cf. PB 20.16.6). Man.ika_ra, a jeweller, enlisted as a victim at the purus.amedha shows the prevalence of the industry of jewellery in the Vedic periodd. (VS 30.7 and TB 3.4.3.1).

"The metal bowls were probably made of bronze, as evidenced by the AV which mentions 'a hundred metal dishes (ka_m.sa), placed on the back of a cow'. (AV 10.10.5). Elsewhere we find 'Tvas.t.r' making the axes sharp wherewith he fashions bowls to hold 'amr.ta'. (RV 10.53.9-10). Bell-metal (ka_m.sya) vessels, made of an alloy of coper and tin are mentioned in Cha_nd. Upa. (Ch. Up. 5.2.8). Vessels of brass or pittala, an alloy of copper and zinc are heard of in Maitra_yan.a Bra_hman.a Upanis.ad (Maitr. Br. Up. 6.22). Spoons of bell-metal are also noted in Gobhila Gr. S. (kam.sam chamasam va annam pu_rayitva_: Gob. Gr. S. 1.9.7). Ka_tya_yanqa S'. S. (ka_m.sya va_naspatya ma_rtikai-r-abhicha_ra brahma-varchasa- pratis.t.ha_ka_ma yatha_sam.khyam: KS'S 2.3.5) mentions vessels, made of earth, bell-metal and wood.

"Silver. 'Rajata' in the sense of silver occurs in TS. (TS 1.5.1.2). Ornaments (rukma) (S'B 12.8.3.11), dishes (pa_tra) (TB 2.2.9.7), and coins (nis.ka) (PB 7.1.14) -- all made of silver are also mentioned. The AV refers to silver amulets bestowing on the wearer 'dexterity with favouring mind'. (AV 5.28.1 and 5). The Br.h. Upa. refers to two vessels -- called 'mahima_', one of gold and another of silver to be placed on two sides of the horse in the As'vamedha sacrifice. (Br. Up. 1.1.2).The Cha_nd. Upa. (suvarn.ena rajatam rajatena trapu...: Ch. Up. 4.17.1) speaks of union of gold with silver and of tin with silver. From the above reference we may assume that silver was also manufactured into different articles in the Vedic age. Lead (s'i_sa) was much used for amulets in sorcery, as evidenced by the AV which states that it is blessed by Varun.a, Agni and Indra and that 'it is a dispeller of familiar demons'. (AV 1.16.2; 12.2.1.19 and 53). The VS (si_seva tantram...: VS 19.80; cf. V.1. II. 452 and Ch. Up. 4.17) refers to its use by a weaver as weight. Griffith, however, in his translation of VS (VS 183, n.) comments that lead is used not as a weight but as a charm against demons and sorcery.

"Trapu. In AV, KS, VS, MS, TB, Ch. Upa. and TS, 'trapu' means tin. (AV 11.3.8; KS 18.10; VS 18.13; MS 2.11.5; TB 3.12; Ch. Up. 4.17.7; TS 4.7.5.1). Its quality of being easily smelted is, according to

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Roth, indicated by its very name, derived form the root 'trap' (= to be ashamed), alluded to in the AV noted above.

"Kr.s'ana is first mentioned in RV as used in adorning the ear of Savitr. and a horse. (RV 1.35.4; RV 10.68.1). Elsewhere,the horse is described as 'kr.s'ana_vato' (pearled one) (RV 1.126.4). The people of India believed in the origin of pearls by transformation of raindrops falling into the sea as early as the Vedic period, as reflected in the AV: 1. 'Born from the wind out of the atmosphere, out from the light of lightning, let this gold-born shell, or pearl, protect us from distress'. 2. 'Thou that was born from the top of the shining spaces, out of the ocean...' 7. 'The gods' bone became pearl, that goes about within the waters, possessing soul, that do I bind on thee in order to lifetime, splendor, strength, to length of life for a hundred autumns, let (the amulet) of pearl defend thee', and 'what the ocean roared against, (and) Parjanya with the lightning, thereform was born the gold drop (bind).' (AV 4.10 adn 19.30.5). Here Pischel thinks that the drop refers to pearl. (ZDMG, 36.135).[Haripada Chakrabarty, 1986, *Socio Economic Life of India in the Vedic Period*, Calcutta, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, pp. 161 to 168; pp. 206 to 228].

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